Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee.
(SNCC)

Section 6 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CHICAGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN: ATLANTA	DATE: DEC 6 1967	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD: 5/5 - 11/14/67

TITLE OF CASE: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPE: FI

CHARACTER OF CASE: IS - SNCC 14681

REFERENCES: Bureau letter to Atlanta dated 10/20/67, entitled, "STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE, IS - SNCC"

- P -

[redacted]

LEAD

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will forward and report any communist infiltration of SNCC and revolutionary type activities of this organization.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified confidential because it contains

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

CONVIC	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUIT-TALS

CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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Notations

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information from [redacted] which was so classified and whose identity, if disclosed, would not be in the best interests of this country.

[redacted], mentioned in the details, is a source of the Chicago Office. Due to the relative inactivity of SNCC he has been unable to make contact with the Chicago Office, SNCC.

[redacted]

[redacted]

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Chicago File

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Chicago File

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INFORMANTS

Source	Location
[redacted]	Instant report, 100-40342-1473
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-40342-1538
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Source	Location
[redacted]	100-40342-1296
	[redacted]
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COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Report of: SA [redacted]
Office: Chicago

Date: DEC 6 1967

Field Office File #: 100-40342
Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis:

[redacted]

- P -

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
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CG 100-40342

The Chicago Branch of SNCC opened an office on the second floor of 306 East 43rd Street, Chicago, Illinois, telephone 373-9025.

[redacted]

III. CHARACTER AND MEMBERSHIP

On May 5, 1967, SA [redacted] United States Customs, Chicago, Illinois, made available the following information from the Chicago Branch of SNCC office files which were then at Navy Pier undergoing a contraband inspection prior to shipment to [redacted]

Plans to Move the Chicago SNCC Office:

As most people in SNCC are aware, the Chicago office is located in an apartment where staff members and others reside. The reason for this being done in the first place was chiefly for reasons of economy. The condition has always been considered temporary, and at present plans are being made to move the office within the next month.

Several locations are being considered. One plan is that a location be found large enough for several offices, with ACT, SNCC, CORE, the Deacons and maybe others joining together in one building with meeting space used jointly by all, that would be known as the Chicago Black Power Movement.

JOYCE BROWN, of the Atlanta office, will be joining the Chicago SNCC staff and MICHAEL WRIGHT is presently here working on a campus program. It is felt that with a new location it will be much easier to schedule volunteer workers on a regular basis and that the entire image of SNCC in Chicago will be improved.

Plans for a Chicago Black Power Movement

Last summer, SNCC instigated a week Black Power Forum that now meets weekly at the ACT office (for lack of space at the SNCC office.) One of the prime purposes of the forum was to set up a dialogue out of which we hoped would come unity of the Black organizations in this town.

At present, it appears that this unity will be brought about in the near future. There are plans for ACT, CORE, SNCC, Deacons and the Afro-American Students Association to take offices in the same building with joint meeting space to be known as the Chicago Black Power Movement.

There are still a number of problems to be worked out. BOB LUCAS is presently working on the problem that Chicago SNCC is integrated and cannot join the Black Power Movement until this is changed.

The above mentioned groups feel that with more unity, joint actions could be taken on many levels that would give all of us much more strength than when we stand alone.

Fund Raising in Chicago

Chicago SNCC receives $125.00 per month in regular pledges plus some irregulars. In addition, over the past year, we sold an average of $125.00 per month, posters, black power buttons, books, etc. Since our total receipts for the past year added up to approximately $4,500.00 that means that the rest of the money, or another average of $125.00 per month was raised from the 'emergency appeal' technique, by letter or direct phone solicitation.

Our expenses, since we have been in operation here in Chicago have averaged close to $400.00 per month, so that we have been able to keep the books fairly well balanced and remain self-supporting. However, now that we plan to relocate the office, it is evident that our expenses will go up at least a projected $100.00 per month.

The one area of fund-raising that has not been utilized in Chicago is money raised at parties, rallies, raffles, dances and the like, chiefly because we had no one to work on such affairs, on an on-going basis. We do have knowledgable

people available to work on committees for such affairs but have no one to co-ordinate the work and do the publicity. It is our plan to seek out and find someone who can handle this job, if necessary we will pay them a salary.

If at least one fairly large fund raising affair is held each month, we feel that we can cover the additional expenses of the office. If these affairs are held in the black community, as planned, this will continue the current shift away from white financial support, and involve many more people in the black community than we presently are reaching with leaflets and personal contacts.

In addition to our regular fund-raising we have been fairly successful in establishing a bail bond fund for Chicago SNCC. This is discussed in another report.

Produce Boycott Project:

The Chicago SNCC on the South Side and West Side ACT on the West Side are planning and have begun work on a Produce boycott. We feel that we have to get started somewhere, as far as economics is concerned and choose the idea of a produce boycott because of the prevalance of black produce peddlers in the black community as an alternate market for the people that was already available.

We plan to begin with an educational campaign, showing the people how much more they pay for bad fruit and vegetables in the chain stores than people do in other communities. The black peddlers have already agreed to work with us and will stock up when the boycott is formally called.

After the initial educational campaign we intend to concentrate on particular stores and get them to agree to buy from a black trucker. We are working on getting a truck and setting up this business. The Freedom Drivers, who have access to trucks, have agreed to help on this part of the project. We intend to open Co-operative produce stores.

We intend to see that eventually in the black community, the produce market from wholesaler to retailer will belong to black people. After we achieve this goal, we can begin to work on other areas of economics in the community.

The Role of Chicago SNCC In Aiding
And Organizing Other Groups:

Chicago SNCC spends much time aiding and helping other organizations in the Chicago area. We do mineographing, for the cost of materials used only, design leaflets, plan boycotts, and send people to speak to groups and otherwise act as a consultant about all kinds of problems.

There is a group in Waukegan, Illinois, that is very strong. After the riots there last summer, we were asked to help them in setting up an organization. They have patterned themselves after SNCC and use SNCC materials. They are a Black Power group. They held a very successful Christmas boycott against the downtown stores and are planning further economic and political action. This group of young militant black men depends on Chicago SNCC for advice. They feel that we are their only contact with 'the movement'.

In addition, we regularly help FRANK DITTO's OCCP, the Upepo Ibada School (an independent black school) ACT, South Suburban SNCC and others, such as the Protectorights.

One of the reasons behind this help is that we feel the more groups and people we help that are interested in black power, the more of a buffer zone will be created by the people between SNCC and the power structure.

When we have more personnel, we intend to spend even more time in this area of work because there have been requests for help in other areas, for example in Milwaukee that we have been unable to fullfill.

Plans For the Political Campaign in Chicago

Last summer, several of the community groups in the area and SNCC got together and decided to run a local grass-roots candidate for Alderman in the February 28, 1967, election. These included, PRESTON HARWELL of the Kenwood Oakwood Community Conference (KOCO), FRANK DITTO, of the Oakland Committee for Community Improvement (OCCI), and people from the Protectorights. They were supported in this by DAVID REED (the Republican who ran against DAWSON) and his New Breed Committee, who are very strong in the west end of the ward, where we have few people.

Early this fall, CARL TUNSTALL of the Protectorights was chosen. CARL has lived in this community for 18 years and is well known. His was the first black family on the block, and he was one of the original organizers of the Protectorights. Just about this time [redacted] went to jail, where he stayed until the middle of December while his people prepared an appeal, so he was eliminated from any participation in planning. Next, KOCO fired [redacted] which finished him in the community. They exist only on paper and have no strength in the north (black) end of the ward. KOCO is a white, church backed group, from the south end of the ward, that tried to organize in this end basically for political reasons. It is evident to us that [redacted] was fired for backing CARL, when the white people had someone else in mind. This winter DAVID REED began vacillating, and tried to find a New Breed Candidate from outside the Ward. First he put forth a woman and then dropped her and found a man named LAMAR HOKE who is going to run. HOKE and our candidate have an agreement to work our separate areas, and if either man shows a much greater chance of winning the other will pull-out and support him.

In addition to HOKE, the Republican organization has decided to run a man named BUFORD, who stands as much chance as a proverbial snowball. The white controlled

Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI) have come out for HOKE, but have not announced formally. The area that they cover (the south end) has only about 15% of the voters, and traditionally is liberal and votes against HOLMAN anyways. The way it has turned out, HOKE thinks that KOCO and IVI have strength in the north end but they only have paper organizations up here and our candidate is the only legitimate one. The Protectorights have 300 members, young men in the twenties who are pledged to work for CARL and in addition we will pull our Black Power workers and others from other groups.

Our biggest problem of the moment is to get the petitions accepted so that CARL will be on the ballot. They will be turned in on Monday, January 9th. As far as the type of campaign we are going to run, it will be very unorthodox, because we plan to work entirely on the grass roots level.

On Chicago's west side, DOUG ANDREWS of ACT and ED CRAWFORD of the Deacons will be running for Alderman in the 28th and 29th wards as Black Power candidates.

Report On The Raid on The Home of CARL TUNSTALL,
Black Power Candidate for 4th Ward Alderman, January 1, 1967

SNCC and the Protectorights (local organization, working with SNCC) planned to announce that CARL was running for Alderman at a New Years eve party at his house. The party had the additional purpose of raising funds for the campaign and hoped to attract additional volunteer workers from the community. A mailing was done to all SNCC black power workers and supporters and leaflets were passed in the community. It had been planned that an announcement would be made right after midnight that CARL was running.

A few minutes after midnight, about eight detectives, with drawn guns kicked down the door. At that time there was a crowd of people in the hall putting on their coats,etc. The police were very rough in their treatment of persons at the party and there were several incidents of violence, people being struck, and thrown about. The house was ransacked, clothing and personal belongings thrown on the floor,etc. About twenty people got out through a basement exitway and one man jumped out of the window and escaped (from the 2nd floor).

At first, the police said that those who had their identification could leave, and let several people go after taking names and addresses. Upon the arrival of a uniformed Sergeant, who did not approve of this, no one else was released. Nineteen women, twentysix men and six girls aged 17 (who were considered minors) were arrested. The SNCC photographer, [redacted] was able to take several photos of the officers at the raid, but was kicked and thrown down the stairs.

It was evident that [redacted] ordered the raid from the manner that the police openly talked about it. Because of the obvious political implications of the raid, a total of $1,500 for bail was raised within a period of 24 hours. Most of this money was loaned to SNCC and will be repaid when the bail is returned from the courts. All persons were bailed out on January 1st except [redacted] who had to have a judge set his bail on January 2nd. The minors were released to their parents, [redacted] was charged with: 1. Keeper of a disorderly house. 2. Contributing to the delinquency of minors. 3. Sale of liquor without a license. 4. Marijuana on the premises; and everyone else was charged with being the inmate of a disorderly house (the same penalty as disorderly conduct). The court date is January 16, 1967.

The local community is well aware of what happened. Later the night of the raid, the local gang kicked out half the windows in the stores along 43rd Street. The raid was announced

over the radio on news broadcasts but did not appear in the newspapers. Later in the week the Chicago Defender printed a good story with front page headline stating that we charged a frame-up. Jet magazine and Muhammad Speaks will take interviews later in the week.

Chicago SNCC Bail Bond Fund

At the time of the arrests in Atlanta, September, 1966, when several members of the Chicago SNCC staff were among those arrested, the discussion about the need for a Bail Bond fund began to get results. The funds raised at that time, were sent south and used there for our people. A total of $558.00 was sent south and many other people in the area were solicited who sent their contributions directly. At the time of the first raid in Chicago, December 3, 1966, additional money was raised for CAROL REDMOND's bail and $1,500 was raised as a result of the raid of January 1, 1967. In addition to straight contributions, we are asking people to loan money to the fund, on the condition that it will be returned after either a set period of time or upon their request if needed.

At present we have on hand:	902.50
plus due on bonds:	931.00
	1833.50
Loans to be repaid:	1125.00
	708.50 projected assets, subject

to possible fines that may be deducted from bonds on some 60 court cases now pending.

It is our intention to use this bond fund, not only for SNCC people, but also community people (as in the January 1st raid) we determine have a need that develops in connection with our work on the campaign. We protect our money by having it returned to SNCC instead of the person bonded out.

A campaign is planned to raise this fund to several thousand dollars. A separate bail account will be opened as soon as the bond money is returned from the majority of the court cases this month.

Police Review Board

Chicago SNCC is planning a community police review board. There are several other organizations such as ACT, CORE, Deacons, etc. who are interested. This review board would have no legal powers of course, but would review flagrant cases of police brutality and the like publicly, with a view to stirring up public protest. It is projected that in some cases, where the actual case did not receive justice in the courts either, a mock trial would be held with actual lawyers and the defendants if possible to demonstrate the injustice. These hearings would be held in the black community and be publicized and open to the public.

Chicago SNCC Press Relations

It was reported to this office, that a definite decision had been made that new SNCC policy was not to have anything to do with the white press. This decision coincides with Chicago SNCC policy of granting interviews to particular reporters with the black press who have proven to be sympathetic to our views. We have a very good relationship with Jet magazine staff, several reporters for the Chicago Defender newspaper and the staff of Muhammad Speaks (who will print any story we wish to release). We also granted an interview with the Militant, who seem to have a history of printing only news sympathetic with SNCC views.

We also heard that it was SNCC's Chairman's decision that there should be no releases about raids on SNCC offices,etc. Since the raids that have taken place here were obviously carried out because of the fact that we are supporting and working for CARL TUNSTALL, candidate for 4th Ward Alderman,and were not just against SNCC per se, we felt that some news about this going to the black press was necessary. All news interviews are given with SNCC and Protectorights members [redacted] and [redacted] jointly.

One of the problems here in Chicago about the black press is that it is very weak. That is, the black community reads three times as many white papers as the black paper. There is no possible way to leaflet the entire black community of the city because it is too large and spread out. In the light of these facts we would like to know what Atlanta recommends.

[redacted]

[redacted] 11/6/67)

The Chicago Branch of SNCC has eight members who have been active in SNCC affairs during the summer of 1967.

[redacted]

IV. PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF CHICAGO BRANCH, SNCC

JOYCE BROWN - Administrative Director, Chicago branch of SNCC is now residing in Atlanta, Georgia. Her stay in Atlanta is believed to be only temporary.

[redacted] 10/1 and 11/67)

A pretext inquiry at SNCC Office, 306 East 43rd Street, on September 20, 1967, reflected that JOYCE BROWN was out of town for a temporary stay of time.

JOYCE BROWN related the following personal background information on September 8, 1967:

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

JOYCE BROWN will leave Chicago shortly to move to a southern city believed to be New Orleans, Louisiana. She intends to retain control of the Chicago Branch of SNCC operations and return periodically to direct local SNCC activities.

ROBERT BROWN (no relation to JOYCE BROWN), a member of the Chicago chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) would like to direct local SNCC activities. It is not believed that JOYCE BROWN would turn over control to BROWN as he is relatively young and inexperienced, 19 years of age, and unemployed.

[redacted] 9/21/67)

[redacted]

A "Chicago Daily News" article of August 11, 1967, page 3, column 1, entitled, "The Outsiders: Who Are The Leaders?", states that the ghetto Negro has little faith in leaders, black or white, who often claim to represent him. According to the article, he is sure the so-called "moderates" of the "accepted" Negro organizations do not speak for him. Included in this group were Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,; WHITNEY YOUNG of the National Urban League; and ROY WILKINS of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The article states that several organizations say they have something to offer him, and it is usually summed up in two words: Black Power. The article further states that in general-although there may be exceptions-they are not squeamish about whether or not that power is achieved through violence. Among the organizations mentioned were CORE (headed by ROBERT LUCAS) and SNCC.

According to the article, SNCC, located at 306 East 43rd Street, is headed by a former Xavier University (New Orleans)

sociology student, JOYCE BROWN, 22. The article states that SNCC's resources are even more depleted than CORE, and the two often use each other's office facilities or, take each other's messages.

"LUCAS is firm in his belief that black men must direct their own destinies in a black society, as Miss BROWN believes. But, whereas LUCAS is willing to give the American democratic process one more chance for Negroes to achieve "black" political power, Miss BROWN has lost all faith in it.

Violence, she believes, appears to be "the only method." Pressed on whether she believes it can really achieve Negro equality in all areas of American life, she said: 'well if you don't get all of the bread, at least you get the baker to begin thinking about it; at least you get a slice of it.' The 'Baker' in the analogy is 'white society'."

[redacted]

[redacted]

ALBERT MONROE SHARP and CAROL LEE REDMOND no longer direct SNCC operations in Chicago.

[redacted] 3/3/67)

On April 21, 1967, [redacted] advised that [redacted] accompanied by [redacted] left approximately 90 boxes and packages at the Chicago Export and Packing Company, 9500 South Cottage Grove, Chicago, on April 18, 1967, to be crated for shipment to Africa.

The shipment was to be crated and shipped to [redacted]

One of the packages was improperly prepared for shipment and was found to contain a loaded .38 caliber snubnose pistol of Japanese manufacture and 30 rounds of .30 caliber carbine ammunition. The United States Customs was advised of these facts.

On May 1, 1967, [redacted] United States Customs, advised that [redacted] and [redacted] rented a truck from the Lake Park Rentals, 6120 South Cottage Grove. They proceeded to the Chicago Export and Packing Company where the 90 packages now placed in 6 large cases, were loaded on the truck. They proceeded to Frame 1, Navy Pier, where the cases were unloaded.

On May 3, 1967, a shipper's export declaration (SED), prepared by [redacted] Chicago, was received at Customs Office, 610 South Canal. The SED No. [redacted] dated May 3, 1967, declared 6 boxes of household goods weighing 8,650 pounds, to be shipped to [redacted] The shipper was shown as [redacted] No mention was made on the SED of any firearms nor was a license issued by the State Department for exportation of firearms.

On May 5, 1967, the shipment was examined by Customs and found to contain a .7mm Japanese rifle, bayonet and approximately 1000 rounds of .22, .30, .38, and 7mm caliber ammunition in addition to the loaded pistol. They were confiscated for violation of Title 22, Section 401, United States Code.

Section 123.52 of the regulation pertaining to International Traffic in Arms would allow the exportation of no more than 3 non-automatic firearms and 1000 rounds of ammunition providing they were declared and presented for examination.

On May 8, 1967, these facts were discussed with Assistant United States Attorney LAWRENCE MORRISSEY by Custom Agent [redacted] who declined prosecution in favor of administrative action.

On May 9, 1967, the cargo, less guns and ammunition, was loaded on "Normac Pride" which sailed that evening for East Africa.

During the search of [redacted] cargo on May 5, 1967, it was noted that the shipment contained a four-drawer filing cabinet containing the files of Chicago Branch of SNCC, which contained the 1966 receipts and disbursements, office address book, black power workers list, key contacts list, friends of SNCC list and correspondence.

[redacted]

[redacted] 8/7/67)

On July 31, 1967, Special Agent [redacted] United States Customs, advised he received a letter from [redacted] also known as [redacted] dated July 6, 1967, postmarked [redacted] petitioning for the return of her confiscated weapons and ammunition. She indicated her attorney, [redacted]

[redacted], would handle the necessary arrangements. She explained the circumstances surrounding her failure to file the necessary papers prior to shipping these items out of the country. They are to be shipped to [redacted] in care of [redacted]. [redacted] stated this request will be granted.

[redacted]

[redacted] 8/23/67)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

ROBERT BROWN, member of CORE, is presently directing the operations of the Chicago Branch of SNCC in the absence of

JOYCE BROWN and is being assisted by an individual known only as MICHAEL. He expects JOYCE BROWN to return to Chicago from the south for a brief visit.

[redacted] 10/30/67)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] 10/25/67)

[redacted]

[redacted] 8/21/67)

The CP of Illinois at the present time exercises no influence within the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

[redacted] 4/24/67)

[redacted]

[redacted] 11/6/67)

National Conference For
New Politics (NCNP)

On August 30, 1967, JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, was observed in attendance at NCNP, Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois.

[redacted] 9/1/67)

The NCNP national convention was held in the Palmer House Hotel in Chicago, Illinois, from Tuesday, August 29 through Monday, September 4, 1967. The convention was attended by more than 3,500 registered delegates, observers, etc. A broad spectrum of left wing groups was represented (the delegates claimed to represent almost 30,000 activists) including peace, civil rights, "new politics," student groups, a small group of trade unionists, nationality groups, women's organizations. This convention included almost all the forces involved in what is referred to by leftists as "the Movement".

Three main political groups were represented at this convention. There was a "black caucus" which included most of the Negroes attending and from which all whites were excluded. This caucus took ultra-militant, pro-nationalist positions and strongly supported the "black power" line advanced by SNCC and CORE. An ultra-nationalist section of this caucus opposed any unity with whites and attempted to pull all Negroes out of the convention into an "all-black" convention which was hastily organized and held in the Chicago ghetto at the same time the New Politics meeting took place. This effort was defeated. The fight to keep the caucus in the convention was led, according to participants in the caucus, by the Communist Negroes.

Another main political tendency among the whites was that which supported the concept that the main emphasis of the convention should be on organizing a third ticket (a peace and freedom ticket) in 1968. Many in this grouping supported the idea of MARTIN LUTHER KING-BENJAMIN SPOCK ticket. This grouping was dominated by Communists functioning through DCA and many other organizations in which they are active. Also included in this tendency were many pro ROBERT KENNEDY liberals, including a number of the original organizers of the New Politics organization, who were seeking a third ticket as a means of weakening LYNDON JOHNSON's campaign for re-election in 1968, insuring his defeat, and laying the basis for a ROBERT KENNEDY campaign in 1972.

The third main tendency at the convention, again among the whites, was in support of local community organizing (along the lines of the Vietnam Summer campaign) and in adamant opposition to a national third ticket in 1968.

The "third ticket" grouping and the "local organizing" grouping split the white delegates almost evenly. The black caucus refused at first to participate in the convention unless its demands were accepted en toto by the whites. These demands (13 of them) calling for full support for black power, support for the demands of the Newark Black Power conference, a campaign to "civilize the white beasts," etc. were accepted by a split vote of the white delegates after a floor fight led by the Communists. The main debate was over one demand which condemned Zionist Israel imperialism. A number of delegates, particularly those who were Jewish, had a difficult time swallowing this demand.

Then the black caucus refused to participate unless it was given 50 per cent of the voting power at the convention. (The Black Caucus represented about 20 per cent of the actual convention.) Since the Black Caucus voted as a unit, this demand meant that they would have veto control of the convention. This demand was also accepted after a sharp debate. The support for this demand was mobilized and led by the Communists, including several speakers from DCA. Speakers against the position were booed and hooted down. The CP took control of the microphones and made certain that its speakers got the floor. The 50 per cent control demand of the black caucus was accepted by a split vote. After this several whites withdrew and there was much grumbling and dissatisfaction among white delegates about lack of democracy, etc., but the convention was held together.

The Black Caucus proposed (and had accepted by the convention) a proposal which endorsed both local organizing and a third ticket effort if that proved possible. A national board was elected of 24 persons, six from the community organizing white caucus, six from the third ticket white caucus, and

twelve from the black caucus. This board is to meet September 30 to work out future strategy.

Although it is a shaky alliance, the convention ended with a unity between radical whites and the ultra-militant black forces in this country. The Communist Party achieved a major part of what it hoped to achieve at this convention.

1. It sought a unity of the various forces in the "movement," including black power, peace, youth, community organization, left labor, etc. A beginning toward this unity was established.

2. It sought a commitment by the convention toward a national third ticket in 1968. The convention did not come out completely for this proposal, but it did endorse the idea of a third ticket where possible.

3. It sought an increased influence in left politics in the country. There is no question that the CP emerged from this convention as a dominant influence in the New Politics movement.

DCA emerged from the convention as perhaps the best organized youth group participating. DCA caucuses had up to 100 participants, including sizable numbers of non-DCA young people. DCA speakers were often heard on the convention floor. DCA leaders regarded the New Politics convention as a hugh plus for DCA.

[redacted] 9/22/67)

H. RAP BROWN, National Director, SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, spoke on the evening of September 3, 1967, to a black power caucus group of NCNP at the Palmer House in Chicago.

(The following is a transcript of remarks made by H. Rap Brown, on September 3, 1967, at Chicago.)

In 1964 the first real manifestation of black power since Reconstruction (illegible) . Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party went to Atlantic City to challenge the Democratic Party. The people from Mississippi are honkies who have been representing black people for years. Now the Democratic Party told the MFDP that we don't need you. Now what you see here and what's significant about what you done done now is that you illustrated the use of black power. In other words you told this convention we've got to all come around or we gonna close you down. The most significant thing about power is that it comes from the word that means power. The black people have always had power but they refused to be powerful with their power. Now this is an illustration of this power, if you put it to use here. What we're working on is to broaden our political scope because this meeting here is behind Detroit. We're not even speaking as to where Detroit is at this moment. (illegible) because it has often been said that politics is war without bloodshed. Detroit is sending her politics to the streets. They were not speaking of the '68 election in terms of legality. They didn't even concern themselves with that. In other words, Detroit went to war and they put their politics where their mouth was. Now what

we are doing is that we are talking about politics in a legal sense. I don't know how well that's going to work because you see the Democratic Party is the Republican Party vice versa. Now you're going to talk about how black people can afford....talk about radical, political, reform in the (illegible) American Society as it's (illegible). That's the white folks job. We have to begin to talk about revolution. I just want to see (illegible) the Democratic Party who say they have Dixiecrats and that's a lie. There is no such thing as a Dixiecrat. The only difference between Lyndon Johnson and George Wallace is that one of their wives got cancer. There is no difference whatsoever. Only reason Goldwater got defeated was because he was honest. He told people what he was going to do. Johnson got in there and told Goldwater, Goldwater, if you start something (illegible Now when you start talking about revolution, then you can begin to identify with the struggles abroad. So easy to not operate in a vacuum. It's not isolated from the black people here. The fighting over in Puerto Rico, in Venezuela, in Guatemala, is not isolated from the fighting over here. The fighting has been (illegible) is not isolated from the fighting that goes on here because the liberation of black folks in America depends upon the liberation for the other worlds bearing upon

the liberation of black people across the world. In other words we here feel that a monster (illegible) can't be destroyed from here, we have to destroy it. We got to keep everybody's freedom in other words. To shed some light upon the word coalition. If you look at what happened to (illegible) move toward Watson. They were (illegible) power, so what we want to talk about and what you told the honkies was that we'll talk alliance with you, but we ain't gonna talk no coalition. We ain't gonna (illegible) no coalition. In other words, you have to come down to the position way we (illegible) fits our needs. On those grounds, we can have an alliance. But to talk about coalition is to say that we have common power and my problem ain't common with nobody that calls themselves a hero upon my freedom. 'Cause I'm fanatic about it. In terms of leadership of the movement, they say also that leadership should never be shared, it should always remain in the hands of the dispossessed. That was the mistake we made in the civil rights movement. We won't make that mistake no more. We gonna have to broaden our concept because there are other dispossessed people in America besides blacks who (illegible), we need as allies, the Indian, the Mexican American...we have to be political in

every sense. You cannot move to alienate these people because when we taking care of business with the honkies, that we ain't do it right. We are not doing it for all dispossessed people - there are other dispossed people who are going to get together and take care of business theirselves (illegible) we through.

One thing about freedom. It will make you fight any enemy. If you are not free, you will fight any enemy. That has been one of the black man's make-up. That's the difference in the black man's impeccable will to be free that has made him fight for this country. It will be that same will that will make him fight this country. So what we got to do if we are to be political, is that we have to develop an ideology to go along with the rebellion because they are way out front of our political know-how and our political knowledge. You're going to have to start talking about black nationalism whether you like it or not. 'Cause if you expound anything else in America, it is not black nationalism, it is white nationalism. So if I have the choice of teaching black nationalism and white nationalism, you know the one I'm going to take. Because look at what happened. Now anything your community chest don't control is a weapon against you. It is used as a weapon against you. You don't control the politics in your community and that's a weapon against you. They can keep you in slum houses because you

don't control it. If you don't control public education, that's a weapon against you because what started this movement is white nationalism. You must control black (illegible) and black entertainers in your community or they can be used as weapons against you. So what you got to do is get yourselves in control but in a country like America, that's one thing that machines control. Being able to control your community that's being able to defend your community. If you can't defend it, you can't control it. In Plainfield, New Jersey, one of the most successful rebellions held in the country, along with the Mexican rebellion(illegible). The land organizations that held the honkies out of the hills over freedom (illegible). Now Plainfield (illegible) don't love the black people in Plainfield any more than they love black people in Detroit. But they refused to go to Plainfield because the brothers there kept (illegible) because they had weapons. They told me that each one of those guns can shoot 200 times at (illegible) for a half hour. They refused to go in there because (illegible) they say that we can't go in there because the niggers got guns. So I say I don't care if they only control this (illegible) but two days that was controlled. The result of being able to defend (illegible) to show that they (illegible) to that control.

the white man gang on the brothers and say, okay, we're going to start an alliance, and say, let me come in and look for guns (illegible) because theyre here. (Illegible), the National Guard, and in their frustration because they didn't find guns, they began to destroy private property. The word went out immediately you kick down one more door, and we're going to shoot your leg off. They left the community.

Plainfield's still got their guns. They still got their guns. You have to recognize that America is at war with black people any time they put tanks in Detroit (illegible). You can't be nothing else but at war. America is very seriously contemplating, not only contemplating, but she's putting into effect the genocide of black people. But you have to discuss their political being. The white folks can't understand if you're being exterminated - tough! Because it is no accident that 30% of the casualties in Viet Nam is blacks. It is no accident that 22% of their fighting force in Viet Nam is black. (illegible) different reasons. Ours (illegible) fight the honkies. Look at what happens in Alabama every year. In America, the country that can send millions of dollars to Viet Nam to insure freedom. The country that can shoot people to the moon. Over 500 kids died each year for lack of proper

food and nourishment in Alabama alone. Alabama is (illegible). They instituted a program called the stamp program, which replaced the old (illegible)thing they had down there. They gave horse meat to eat, and they gave them a stamp program and told them for $10 you can get $40 worth of food, but they didn't say where to get the $10. The party's behind that program. What the courts of America doesn't (illegible). This is still America, the land of the free. People who fought World War II to make democracy safe for the world - makes this world safe for democracy. These people who go before justice under our juries, you can expect the maximum fine and the maximum sentence if you're black. Justice is a joke in America. It stinks with its own hypocrisy. Lyndon Johnson is Hitler's illegitimate child, and J. Edgar Hoover is an ass.

Every time we play their games, be it politics, be it law, we fall into their trap because we gave them a license to kill us. The cops got license to kill niggers, and we jump, we go for it. They tell you about a birth control program that its most biggest effect is on the black community. (illegible). What they are doing is that they are putting an end to your race. They telling you that they don't want you to reproduce your seed. In other words, they say we ain't got

but 20 concentration camps and if you all keep reproducing at the rate you're going, they will then have to build some now ones. But those concentration camps are real. They got 13 of them that are already in operation right now. Right now. I hate to repeat it, I know you don't believe what black folks say, but that's what we call concentration camps in the United States built by honkies for niggers. But understand this, a lot of folks say that this don't apply to me. Me and Carmichael can't fill all 13 concentration camps. (Illegible) if you don't believe this, look beside you, you might be in it.

The man is moving to exterminate black people because he posed a problem. He had a surplus of niggers on his hand. (Illegible) you know what he does with surplus food - he dumps it in the ocean. In other words, we were brought here to do work-we have outlived our usefulness. We are not to join the leisure class that Attorney General Ramsey Clark talks about when he says within 20 years, but that can be five, ten, or 15 years, the entire population will lead a leisure nature, and only 20% of that population will man the work force, because of cybernation and automation, and then you look to see who has training for the cybernation part of the jobs. It's white boys. That's who. White boys are going to push the button to run the machines of (illegible). It appears to me we have outlived

our usefulness. We were brought here as slaves to work -- there is no more work. We are a problem to America. That's what the concentration camps are about. If you don't think those concentration camps exist, if you're going to take the honkies word, you ride around on one of these Army bases that they been closing down. (Illegible) you heard them talk about closing Army bases, and see what they did to it. Right here. I think black folks had better put America on notice. Detroit put her on notice. She said that if you choose to play Nazis, we ain't gonna play too. So we must begin to address ourselves for a new type of politics. A politics that is relevant to the Indian, to the Mexican, to the Latin American who jumped over here. You can't talk politics that's relevant to Bobby Kennedy, Bobby Kennedy is one of them chief exploiters. I can hardly say (illegible) I saw smoke (illegible). I wonder what happened to Lee Harvey Oswald now that we need him. You always (illegible) go for the results. It ain't only Johnson, it's Rockefeller, it's Kennedy, it's all them honkies who sitting up there holding their anti-black rallies in Congress.

In 1964, at Atlantic City, it was Minnesota backs Humphrey. (Illegible-applause) Minnesota to go packing to go home. They say they'll let one or two of you in but black

folks can't govern themselves - you ain't ready - that's the same old line. And you went for it chumps. You still talk about voting in the '68 elections. Don't talk about voting next year. That ain't politics (illegible) and I guarantee you next year there will be a national curfew on niggers. Probably ten o'clock every night. All that they will let you stay out too. See that anti-riot bill tells you where to travel, how to travel and if you can travel. It wasn't only for myself and Carmichael. There's a new bill that's called the food bill that's coming up. That bill says that in time of conflict, you can't defect against the United States and its policy and in time when she does not engage in conflict, there can only be certain types of dissent. There goes free speech. Now remember this and keep this in mind. You are only three-fifths in the constitution here. In other words, they write you out. That gun bill. If the gun bill was a legitimate working bill, it would talk about taking the gun from the gestapo honkie cops. Because technologically, they don't need guns to apprehend the criminals. They have all types of ways. See what they're rewriting is they are writing it so that they are deliberately writing you out of it. (Illegible). So you better start

saying like Johnson says in Viet Nam. Johnson says if Viet Nam don't come around, we gonna burn Viet Nam down. And I tell you if the United States don't come around, the black folks should have burned it down, but (illegible). Votes hold no relevancy. If you can't vote though, you choose. Comrade Mao says what better way to enslave a man than to give him the vote and call him free. We get a (illegible) once that says what would it prove a man who ever had to vote and not be able to vote for a candidate of his choosing. How can you choose between Lyndon Johnson and Goldwater. There is no lesser of evil there. Evil is evil. That's why they have to do this. It is just like freedom. You can't be almost free. You can't be a part free, and you can't be a second class citizen. You're either free or you're not. That's like folks tell me they can be a little bit pregnant. You can't be a little bit pregnant. You're either pregnant or you're lying and not telling the truth. So you can't be a little bit of America. You can't be a little bit a citizen. You're saved man. They apprehended me under the fugitive slave law in Virginia in 1967. So that says to me Abraham Lincoln wasn't hitting on too much when he signed the civil rights bill. Black folks are still slaves in America. We got to get away from talking about being misled

in his own game with his money too. Green power. There ain't no such thing as green power as long as that honky has got the power to change the color of money. (Illegible-applause) you gonna do...what you gonna do, if tomorrow we're gonna use red dirt. You gonna go out and work to try to make a million dollars. That's what you're going to do. (Illegible) understand this. The confederates, they all white brothers, they is cousins. They came up to the Negroes with money after the war, and what did we tell them. We use this stuff with Washington's picture on it. Yeah, that stuff. You know what they're doing with confederate money these days, they tack it on the walls. They use it for wallpaper down there. The man's got the power to determine the color of his money. He'll give you all the money in the world. I'll give you an example. The man can tell you, he tell all niggers to bring me some rocks and for every rock I'll give you a million dollars. And all the niggers in the world would have a million dollars in gray rocks until this man would have all the rocks in the world. And then he'd look at you and say well, tomorrow we'll start using rocks for money. So you have to use their power. Power is the word. Mao says power comes from the barrel of a gun. In Russia's revolution, guns

are not relevant. See, black people do not create situations of violence. Violence is brought into the black community by honkies. Folks accuse me of violence but it never talked about Lyndon Johnson who bombs villages with napalm bombs, bombs hospitals. You see, black folks don't know how to be violent. We should take a lesson in violence from the honkies. Lee Harvey Oswald is white. This honky who killed the eight nurses is white. The honkies down in the bowery who set these bums on fire is white. The honkies who flew the plane over Hiroshima and dropped the atomic bomb is white. We don't know nothing about bombs. But we heard it. (Illegible-applause) 'cause you'd act to where you don't want to hate nobody, even though you love everybody, and go to heaven. (Illegible). As you see (illegible) to the extent (illegible). If you can forget what happened to the Jews and talk about what the Germans did to them you can tell their histories. But instead of the black brothers talking about what the honkies did to him and what the honky does to him every day, no that's hate - (illegible) my foot. Junk! Junk! He was admiring you all's terms. He's gonna tell me you got power. You control. You don't even control your own lives. It's the man's choosing to

to put tanks into your community and what can you do about it. Absolutely nothing. Then you get mad at your brothers who have Molotov and are trying to take care of the tanks. (Applause) You see this tells you one thing about the poor. You don't think he knows where battle is, he knows where the war is already. Anothing thing that Mao says about war. He says the poor cannot be trusted. They lie to close to the ground. How about that. The people are scared of black power. What they going to do when it's time to use black power. (Applause). The man's not playing a game. It's not a game. When he pulls in paratroopers and sends them to Detroit and tells you that that's another Viet Nam. See, we are a colony inside America. Black people constitute a colony. An internal colony. Believe me, brother, after we have been digested, you know what happens to food after it's been digested. (Illegible - applause) We are waste material. If you know what happens then - you know what you call it. (Applause). That's what the man is all about. He's out to take (pause) out of you. 'Cause you ain't nothing but a problem to him. You dig it so much until you teach your children to dig it. You teach them to love it. Now one of the greatest problems is I want to show you to be careful of white nationalism.

Santa Claus is an example of white nationalism. What's so repulsive and what's so criminal about Santa Claus is not only (illegible) Yankee-looking (illegible) and white. When he flies down the black chimney and comes out white again. (Illegible-applause) chumps save your money to buy kids gifts and tell them Santa Claus brought the gifts. So what happens in the kid's minds when mother starts to yell- when trouble starts in Detroit. He runs and tells the old man we ought to be cool, we might have to kill Santa Claus. Do not be deceived. A brother went out thinking he could buy just another bandaid, put it on his arm, and noticed a little (illegible) something was wrong with his skin. He doesn't know they didn't make black bandaids. In other words, black skin ain't mush. They got black people hating themselves. They keep themselves down. Because what they got to thinking about anything all black is bad. Black power is only a good joke and (illegible) black hens don't lay eggs. When you talk about devils whose faces are black faces, you talk about angels (illegible). When you talk about funerals you talk about dressing in black. When he talk about weddings you' talk about white. The Biblical character that characterizes

blackness is Judas. In other words, Judas was black. That's evil. The word black has about 16 different definitions. All of them bad. Because the man behind has the power to devise and legitimatize with their power. Those terms that we're using in other words, we are instilling white nationalism into the minds of ourselves and the minds of our children since birth. When we're first born. So what we have to get is to develop a political ideology that goes along with their movement.. An ideology, brother, that does not separate us from other oppressed groups across the world. We must know what's going on in Rhodesia today. We've got to understand what happens in Rhodesia. Black people are fighting to get the same thing that we fighting over here. Only they are a majority. They are being oppressed by a few. That speaks to me about why the black people over here are not in control. They are never a majority at hand. It's always an organized minority. You don't need a majority. Quit using that as an excuse - we can't do nothing because we ain't together. Pretty soon we gonna be together in concentration camps or somewhere (Applause). If we don't believe Detroit ain't together, then go through there. That's no (illegible) Carmichael as middle class any more. There is no such a thing in a black middle class as far as America is

concerned. They don't kill you 'cause you got money or 'cause you don't have money. They kill you 'cause you're black, son. Lemuel Penn was a colonel in the United States Army who got shot in the head, just like Hedgar Evans who was supposed to be a black middle class in Mississippi. Just like Ben Brown who was a worker for the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. Just like the poor young girls who were killed in Alabama. They were black. We have one thing in common - they were black. The man kills you and he moves against you because you're black. Understand one other thing. Then I'll quit (illegible) they talk about they are going to move the National Guard. They are going to put more black people in the National Guard. That's a lot of jive man. They just got an order from Washington, D. C. that says all large metropolitan cities with an integrated police force, the white policeman should be notified that in times of rebellions they should try to disarm black police. If you all don't believe this check with the FBI, or with somebody you know who works with the FBI. That's because they understand things are going to be worse and that black people are only going to take so much and then his mama's coming. (Applause). Things are gonna get worse before they get better. Don't run about talking about how many houses

are learned and casualties. All wars have had casualties. We were being killed non-violently before we started to rebel. More people have died do the civil rights movement non-violently than had died in all the rebellions. Death is no stranger in the black community. We live through death every day. Kind of job you perform is hatredness nine times out of ten. And then they don't teach you but so many jobs. That's also significant to note that in terms of ratio, there are more handicapped people hired than black folk. You see it's better to be born handicapped in America than to be born black. That's what America thinks about you. I says the white folks when they have rebelled against (illegible) civilized and long before we have to come over and civilize them. (Applause). George Bernard Shaw, another white man, says of America, he says this is the only country that he knows that came from barbarism to decadence without going through civilization. (Applause). It's not our job to civilize honkies. The white folks, the activists who considers themselves activists, who run around saying we want to do so much who want to be missionaries for the black folks - go home suckers. Let them go civilize the Kennedys. Civilize George Wallace. Civilize Lyndon

Lightning Bird Johnson (Applause). Now understand that we at this point are only beginning to address ourselves to politics. Every move America makes is a political move. Understand when the Rams 17 got busted, that was a political move. That was a conspiracy on the part of the CIA. Just like the Statue of Liberty case where people were taking pictures (illegible). In other words, they had a gun bill in force and they needed a (illegible). They busted the Rams 17 therefore crushing in from the right wing and joined the Birchers and said we're going to give you a gun bill. When they did, they came back and they busted the smallest branch of the Minutemen that they could find. They did a whole lot of substituting. Yeah, but I tell Kennedy (illegible-applause). They came back and they busted the Minutemen and they generated pressure from the left. Then the people on the left began to take (illegible) at the whole problem. That wasn't good enough. They killed Rockwell. They also killed Rockwell, yeah, all over this place. (Illegible-applause). President Johnson, he knows who killed Rockwell, and then their next move is to the left. In other words, with some poetic justice that he that lives by the sword, shall die by the sword. What they began to do is they going to hold myself and Carmichael as hostages for violence. Same thing as (illegible-applause). They believe anything Huntley and Brinkley says. (Applause). Black folks got more confidence

in Huntley and Brinkley than Catholics got in the Pope. (Applause-laughter). We believe that we can control Viet Nam and according to Huntley and Brinkley, we've killed every enemy soldier in Viet Nam's streets. (Illegible-applause). There ain't that many people in the country. You take how many people we've killed. (Illegible) but understand one thing why America is over there (illegible). It's not the proper thing but it's just as plain, Eisenhower and his people won't remember because of their ignorance. He exposed (illegible).

[redacted]

[redacted] 9/28/67)

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

The Chicago Branch of SNCC held an anti-draft conference on June 16 and 17, 1967, at Herman Hall, Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT), 32nd and Federal Streets, Chicago. JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch, SNCC, made arrangements for the meeting and presided at the conference sessions.

Approximately 30 to 35 Negroes and three to four white people were in attendance at the evening session held on June 17, 1967. The major portion of the conference time was spent in discussing means of implementing anti-draft centers in the Chicago, Illinois, area. They would be strategicly located to obtain the most extensive coverage of the area. The purpsoe would be to encourage draft age Negroes to refuse to enter military service. Volunteer workers from these centers would between centers contact Negro youths on an individual basis to encourage them to refrain from going into the Armed Forces.

Discussion occurred concerning methods to be used by Negro males to evade military service. They would be encouraged to lie about their physical and mental conditions in pre-military examinations. They would be encouraged to state they had homosexual tendencies, dress in an effeminate manner and complain of imaginary illnesses. In the event they pass the tests and are scheduled for induction they would be encouraged to go into a fugitive status. Negro women were encouraged to take these

fugitives into their homes and effectively hide them. They were encouraged to lie to any and all authorities attempting to locate the Negro males.

[redacted] 6/19/67)

On June 20, 1967, [redacted] Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT), 31st and Federal, Chicago, Illinois, advised [redacted] The student, PETER PRAN, is a graduate student of architectural engineering. PRAN has completed one year of a two year course and is an "A" student. He is an alien from Norway, who wishes to obtain his United States citizenship in the future. He is employed by the Skidmore Ownings and Merrill Architects, 30 West Monroe, Chicago.

PRAN is the leader of the SDS, IIT Chapter, which has a total of five students involved in SDS activities.

On June 15, 1967, PRAN requested permission for use of Herman Hall for an SDS function with outside friends also to be in attendance. PRAN violated a school rule in not applying four days in advance, however, permission was granted for use of the rooms since the SDS is a recognized campus political organization.

On June 16, 1967, [redacted] was informed by the Chicago Police Department that they would have men stationed on and near the campus for security reasons during the SNCC conference at Herman Hall, on June 16 and 17, 1967. This is the first indication [redacted] had that an outside organization would be in attendance at the so-called SDS affair. At approximately 7:00 PM, on June 16, 1967, he observed approximately 30 police in the immediate vicinity of Herman Hall. [redacted] then attended the evening session to determine if in fact this was an SDS conference.

PETER PRAN opened the conference by introducing several people including JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC who then generally presided over the session, and at the meeting 30 to 35 people were in attendance of which four were white and the remainder Negroes. Several were females and one woman brought her baby who cried throughout the session and generally made it difficult to hear the speakers. The discussion concerned the usual anti-draft and anti-Viet Nam diatribe. All of those present appeared to be above draft age.

Three white males spoke and introduced themselves as students of the University of California, Berkeley, as well as members of the Draft Resistence Organization. They claimed their club had 1,500 members in the California area. They asserted that in October, 1967, all of the members are going to meet in Berkeley and have a mass burning of their draft cards.

[redacted]

VI. SNCC MILITANT LITERATURE AND POSITION PAPERS

The attached leaflet entitled "The Young Black Militant" was obtained by [redacted] from Chicago Branch SNCC Office on August 24, 1967. The remaining leaflets and papers were obtained by [redacted] from Chicago Branch of SNCC Office between the dates July 26 and October 25, 1967.

WE THE "YOUNG BLACK M[illegible]TS" FIND THAT IN AMER[illegible] THE SO-CALLED LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD, CAN PUT TANKS AND TROOPS AND AS MUCH AMMUNITIONS AS NECESSARY IN THE STREETS OF ANY AMERICAN CITY AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE, AND YET ALLOW TERROIST GROUPS SUCH AS THE KLU KLUX KLAN TO MURDER PEOPLE, AND GO FREE, AND OUT OF THE SAME BREATH, TELL OR ASK BLACK PEPLE TO BE NON-VIOLENT IS NOT ONLY IGNORANT BUT AN INSULT TO THE THINKING OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE ALSO FEEL THAT WHEN WHITE PEOPLE SUCH LESTER MADLOX, THE PRESENT GOVERNOR OF ~~SUCH~~- GEORGIA CAN PULL A GUN AND CLUB ON BLACK PEOPLE TO KEEP THEM OUT OF HIS RESTAURANT AND SELL HIS RESTAURANT, RATHER THAN PATRONIZE BLACK PEOPLE, AND STILL BECOME ELECTED NOT THREE YEARS LATER, TO THE OFFICE OF GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA, AND AT THE SAME TIME F.B.I. CAN WITNESS THE MURDER OF VIOLA LIUZZOE, AND CALLIE LEROY WILKINS CAN GO SCOOT FREE, AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN DO NOTHING ABOUT IT, YET AT THE SAME TIME CAN TALK ABOUT ARRESTING STOKLEY CARMICHAEL FOR TREASON OR ARRESTING GEORGE WARE OF SNCC, FOR SEDITION, STRIPPING HIM AND BLACK PEOPLE IN GENERAL OF THE RIGHT OF VERBAL DISSENT. AND THAT OUR FIRST AND MOST IMPORTTANT ALLEGIANCE IS TO OUR PEOPLE, THE BLACK PEOPLE OF AMERICA, AND ALL OVER THE WORLD FROM WHOM WE SPRUNG FORTH.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
306 E. 43RD STREET

(1)

SNCC'S POSITION ON THE INTERSTATE RIOT BAN

STOP STOKELY - RAP BILL

L. B. J. and his henchmen in the Racist, United States Government have committed still another Act of Aggression against the Black People by passing new legislation which would make it a Federal Crime to travel or communicate across state boundaries to incite, organize or encourage a riot. Conviction would carry a maximum penalty of $10,000 fine and/or a 5 year Prison sentence.

IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN HOW THIS BILL CAN BE DEFINED OR WILL BE ENFORCED.

It is quite clear that the Reactionary mouth piece of Fools and Racist, Savage Dogs (two-legged), J. Edgar (00 Fool) Hoover, is trying to stir up Racial Hatred and create an internal enemy of Black People in order to Intensify and Justify the Atrocities and Concentration Camp Tactics that Black People are Subjected to daily in the subhuman ghettos of America. We are also aware that this aggression has reached the point where only mass Genocide and complete Extermination of Black People can be the ultimate goal.

WE NOW MAKE IT KNOWN THAT WE WILL DEFEND OUR COMMUNITIES, OUR WOMEN, OUR CHILDREN, OUR DIGNITY..... FROM ANY AND ALL RACIST ATTACKS.

.....BY DEFENDING BLACK PEOPLE BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY...

Communications Director SNCC,
James Edwards

THE BLACKS

Calling all BLACK BROTHERS & SISTERS

Once again the white power structure has shown us what they as a whole thought of Afro-Americans by putting more of ourBblack brothers behind steel bars for foolish if not childish reasons. If we just stand by talkin black Power and do nothing but let the white devils take our Black Brothers who are willin to relate to the white world the only possible way(complete destruction of the white beasts)than we are just wastin our time. I don't know about you, but if I am willing to die for LAZY, SHIFTLESS NIGGERS Than I am also willin to kill my worst enemy(the black hunky).

In closin I would like to call my Black Brothers and Sisters to prepare to do battle with your beast oppressors. A call to my people to take your freedom by any means possible.. DEATH T' THE WHITE BEASTS... BLACK POWER BLACK POWER BLACK POWER BLACK POWER BLACK

KILL UP ALL WHITE DOGS

ORIGINAL

IN BAD

CONDITION

BEST

AVAILABLE

SR

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Then again, the white power structure has calculated the WAR against the Black People of America.

In their all out War to kill SNCC, theses powers that be have made political prisoners out of Black People who are fighting for their life and freedom.

Cap Brown: [illegible]. Placed under excessive bond, as an example, to frighten other Black Afro-American people who would "TELL THE TRUTH" to Black people about the evil white government, and encourage those Black people to seek means for survival.

Stokely Carmichael
----------: Threats of arrest upon his return to this country, for "Treasonous Acts" upon telling the Truth to Latin American and Vietnamese about the enslavements of Black People in U.S.A.

George Washington Ware:
---------- --

Arrested. Held on [illegible] in Nashville U.S.A. for delivering a speech at the Nat Turner Liberation School, at which he informed Black people that they should "[illegible] Power by any means Necessary"..... What happen to Freedom of Speech/.....

We charge the white power structure the BRUTAL, [illegible] and CALCULATED MASSIVE [illegible] of NON-WHITE people's through out the world. And we demand that they be held accountable for their crimes against the government and Black people

HOW MUCH MORE

74 Afro-Americans Arrested On SEPT. 14th following a PROTEST RALLY at 43rd and LANGLEY

AT HOW MUCH MORE

74 AFRO-AMERICANS WERE ARRESTED SEPTEMBER 14, 1967, Following a protest rally at 43 & Langley, about 4 oclock PM.

They were protesting the long standing grievences of oppression of Black People; You black brothers and sisters must understand that we cannot sit by and let these brothers and sisters be railroaded by 1-Excuse

xcessive bail 2-illegal charges. While the white power structure is demanding that we (COMMUNITY) Pay more than $1,000,000. for being black.

We can not sit by and let the white power simply place blames on SNCC(Student Nonviolent coordinating Committe) and CORE (CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY) for rightful assembly to protest racial injustices of poor people within this country-U.S.A.

We are asking people to understand the urgency of the situation and to do the following: A-Send telegrams: Alderman Ralph Metcalf 3rd. ward at 45 east 47th Street.

2-State Senate of Richard New House, 116 w. Washington

3-Senator Charles Percy- U.S. Senate Office Building

4-Presidental Candidate--Dick Gregory-1451 East 55 Street

B Send money to Community Bail Bond fund at -306 East 43 St.

C--Further information contact SNCC 306 East 43 St. 373-9025

Remember THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN ATLANTIC City New Jersey In 1964 MFDP

REMEMBER The Republican Party At COW PLACE in 1964

T.C.B.

REV. AT "THE WALL"

"THE WALL"

....Located at 43rd Street & Langley Avenue..

DEPICTS, artistically, the BLACK GIANTS who have contributed so valiantly , in the past and in the present, to the historical Travails and Triumphs of the Black Man's search for Identity, Recognition and the Acquisition of Power....."The Wall " symbolizes the heart-aches of yesterday -- the stark realities of today ---- the anticipations of tomorrow.....

" The Wall " evolved out of the artistic consciousness of concerned Black Artists who have expressed and brought into being a thing of Beauty for the people - in the midst of squalor, deprivation and human indignation... It is an *AWAKENING!* It is a *THING!*

FACT SHEET

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12th --- An 18 yr. old girl who resided within the community of Grand Boulevard was beaten by a policeman. This brutal assault resulted in hospitalization for this young lady.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13th --- A HEARING took place, whereby a $1,000.00 was posted and set for the young lady, with charges of: Interference With Law Enforcement Procedures & Resisting Arrest.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14th ---- A group of students of Forrestville High School, along with other concerned persons, assembled at " THE WALL " to protest the beating of the 18 year old youth and to protest the presence of police on the school grounds - as well as many other grievances and inequities that exist at the Forrestville School complex..... Police Officers arrived and ordered the group to disperse..... The group dispersed and regrouped near Forrestville School.... Again, the police ordered the group to disperse..... Failing to do so, the officers began firing into the air, at first,--- and then, into the crowd. COMPLETE CHAOS was the result of this action! Students, teachers and persons who resided in the area were soon caught up in the melee as RIOT SQUADS arrived and began to exert "extraordinary" force to quell the UPRISING or REVOLT! The entire area was cordoned off and massive arrests began.

FACT SHEET, CONT'D

All throughout the long night of Thursday, Sept. 14th and into the morning hours of Friday, September 15th, persons who were arrested were brought before the MORNING MAGISTRATE at the 11th STREET POLICE STATION (1st District). Here, BAIL BONDS were affixed -- without benefit of Counsel or any form of legal advice, except the brief precaution of the Magistrate that they (the Accused) had the right to remain silent or to request the right to Counsel.....

BAIL BONDS WERE SET IN AMOUNTS RANGING FROM $10,000 to $50,000.00.

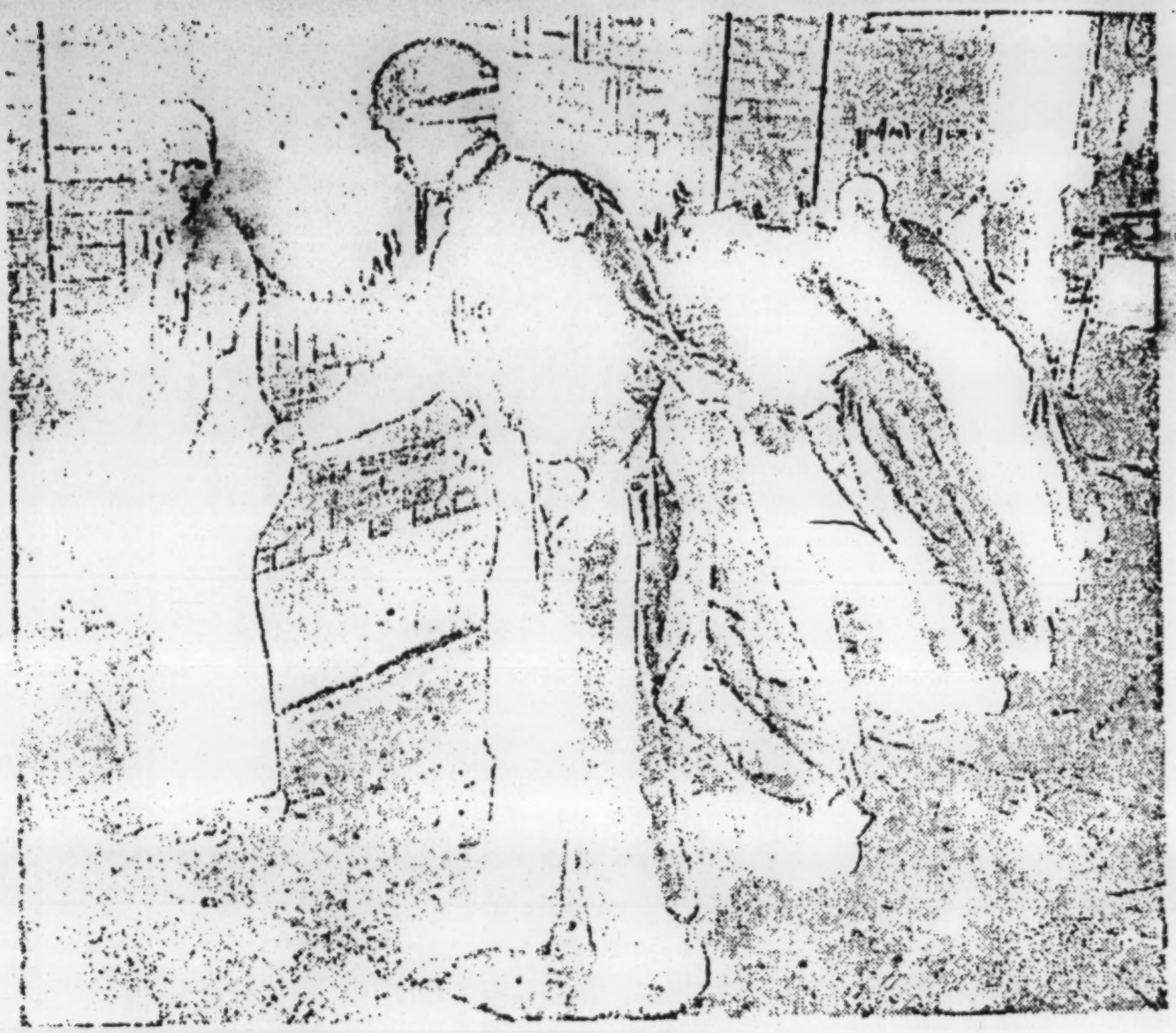
All Juveniles were taken to AUDY HOME (ages 11 - 16 yrs.). All adults (17 yrs. and older) were taken to 26th & CALIFORNIA.

An AD - HOC COMMITTEE, composed of leaders and members of many civic, social and religious groups, was hastily formed. A method of approaching the grim task was discussed and plans for immediate action were put into effect. A committee was assigned the task of securing as many lawyers as possible to represent the arrested persons (TOTAL NUMBER OF THOSE ARRESTED NOW ESTIMATED TO BE 74). This battery of attorneys would begin legal proceedings, do vast amount of research on similar cases and attempt to lift the case(s) to the highest level of social consciousness and constitutionality.

A DIRECT ACTION COMMITTEE was assigned the task of bringing about complete community awareness around the issue.

A FUND-RAISING COMMITTEE was assigned the task of setting up rapid but effective programs to obtain funds that will be used for the released of persons arrested as rapidly as the bonds can be reduced to a certain level by the attorneys.

This AD - HOC COMMITTEE calls upon every member of the community to come to the aid of these persons who have been arrested. It will take the concerted effort of ALL facets of the community to bring about some justice for the ludicrous incident that began at " THE WALL ". What happens to one of a community, happens to ALL of a community. Please contact _____ for information as to how YOU can become involved with this issue.



SELF DETERMINITION

The uprising in the black ghettoes in Detroit is an indication that

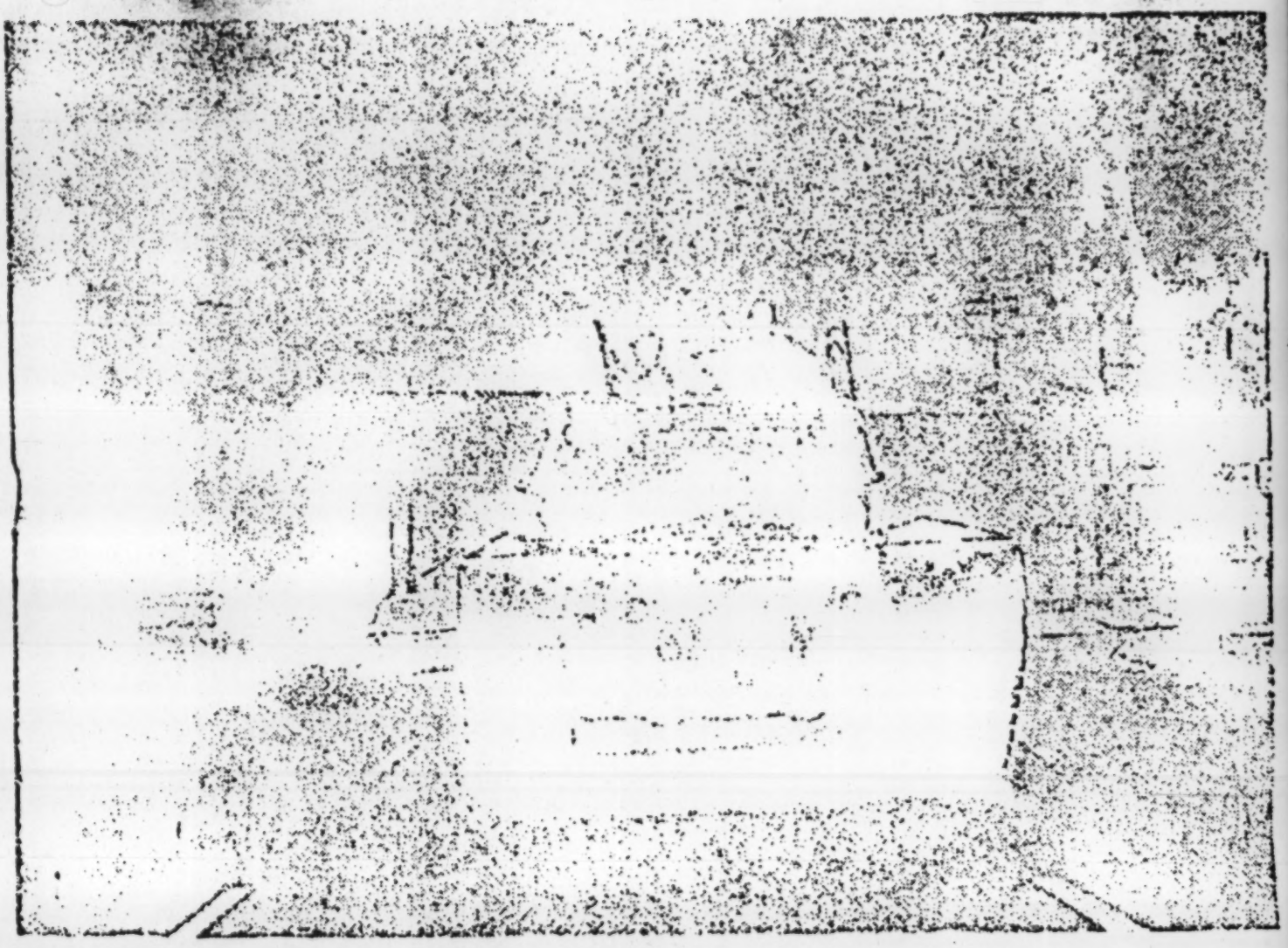
the blacks are ready to do more than complain and protest. They are ready to act in expression of their discontent with the system under which they are living (this is the phase of armed uprising).

The oppressed Afro-Americans are taking to the streets because they are tired of living with rats and roaches (the Big Lie in the American Dream). They are tired of tanks and guns. So-called Negroes in office are no big thing—the Black Leaders are usually more white than the whites. The true threat to the power structure is that the people are becoming more conscious of their role.

We are for the National Liberation...

AND WE WILL WIN

JOIN THE ARMY

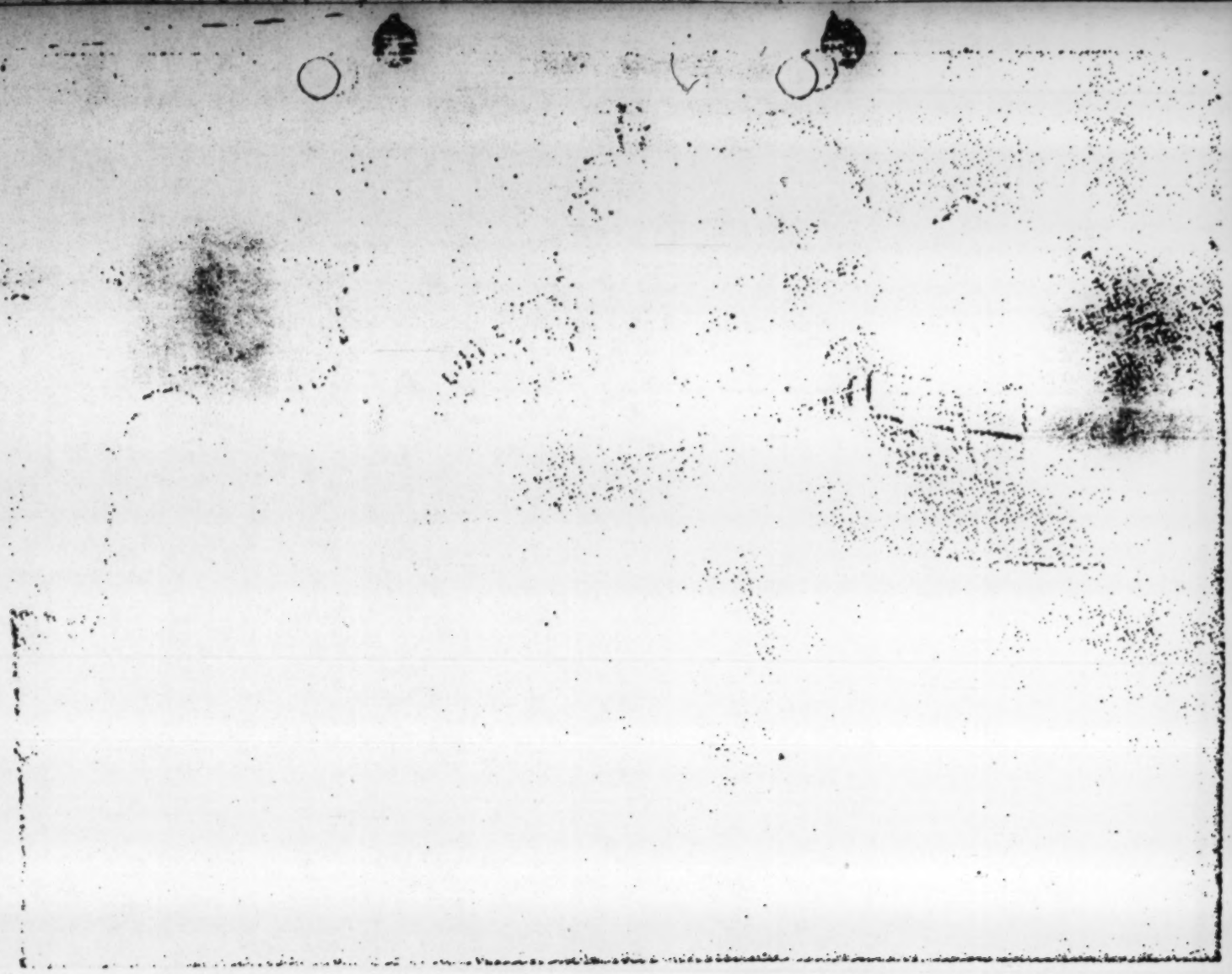


KILL BLACK MEN IN DETROIT.....

KILL VIETCONG IN VIETNAM.....

KILL THE POOR AND OPPRESSED OF THE WORLD. KILL FOR THE RICH MEN.

KILL



The dead pile up

This shows the continued senselessness of the Vietnam War. All of these sacrifices being made for nothing because the greedy politicians in Washington hate to lose out on the heavy profits that a war brings in. Don't let these madmen that think they know all the answers destroy your life by telling the " big lie" about preserving democracy.

HELL NO! I DON'T GO!

Unc

Sam

wanta

YOU

nigge

Become a member of the world's highest paid black mercenary army!

Support White Powe
— travel to Viet Nam
you might get a medal

Fight for Freedom
. . . (in Viet Nam)

Receive valuable trainin
in the skills of killing o
other oppressed people

(Die Nigger Die — you can't die fast enough in the ghettos.)

So run to your nearest recruiting chamber

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

MORE BLACKS DEAD THAN WHITES!

THIS IS TRAGIC
AND
NEVER SHOULD BE!

WHEN THE STORM TROOPERS
ARRIVE
WHAT WILL YOU DO?

ARM YOURSELVES NOW!

REMEMBER

AMERICA IS THE BLACKMAN'S BATTLEGROUN

ARM AND —

UNITE OR PERISH!

YOUNG AFRO-AMERICANS FOR DEFENSE OF BLACKS

SNCC

HELP GET

RAP BROWN

Out of Jail

Rally Sunday, Aug 22 Time 2:00 P.

4/5 Langley

43rd St & Langley

Rally

Sunday - Aug 27th

2:00 P.M.

— Speakers —

Lincoln Lynch — CORE

Fannie Lou Hammer —
Miss. Freedom Party

Yaree Hmeer — SNCC

&

Others

Black Mobilization - Come & Hear

Black Power 60 SNCC - 373-9025

S.N.C.C. 306 E. 43RD ST

GEORGE WARE NATIONAL CAMPUS DIRECTOR OF S.N.C.C. HAS BEEN ARRESTED AND CHARGED WITH TREASON IN NASHVILLE TENN. ON THE STATEMENT TELLING BLACK PEOPLE TO GET FREEDOM BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY. WE MUST NOT SIT BY AND LET OUR LEADERS BE JAILED FOR NOTHING!! SO WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO?

S.N.C.C. 373-9025 PEOPLE!!

"We are making this appeal in the city of Detroit, the state of Michigan, where General Motors has its main plants. While we are aware there are other United States companies operating in South Africa, we believe by calling for a selective boycott of 1968 General Motors cars we may in some small manner assist the struggle for the armed liberation of South Africa. We hope by this action to pressure the United States capitalists to withdraw their investments before we see the sorry sight of the United States government sending troops, some of whom will be Negroes, to support the white racist regime in South Africa and to protect the white American citizens and their dollars."

5. Remember that the struggle against racism, colonialism and apartheid is an indivisible struggle. Armed revolutionary action is occurring throughout Southern Africa--Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa. This issue will soon be brought before the Security Council of the United Nations and even the General Assembly. Do not stand aloof from the debates. Dress in your national African dress, go to the United Nations, hear and participate in the discussions. Too long we as Africans in the United States have failed to show solidairty with our African brothers on the continent. We the Overseas Africans must realize that we can do something and our presence at the United Nations is an expression of solidarity which is important for the morale of the brothers fighting the guerrilla war in Southern Africa.

6. If you are in school, stay there and learn industrial skills that are needed in African countries and will be needed once the liberation of Southern Africa has been accomplished. If you are out of school, get back in and learn the sciences, learn engineering, learn medicine. Africa needs technical help and we must use this white man's schools to help our brothers in Africa, when they ask for us. We must be prepared. There is some meaning to our lives when we realize that we can today go back to Africa.

7. Support Snick. Send contributions to 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y., Room 803. SNCC has voted to help the liberation struggle and it is going to help directly the liberation struggles occurring in all parts of Southern Africa. But SNCC has been under intense pressure and the whites in this country are trying to destroy it. They are going to even try harder now that we are actively supporting the liberations movements in Southern Africa.

SNICK MUST NOT FALL. Send some money today! Also, we must support CORE.

8. Prepare yourself psychologically for the day when we may all have to go fight in South Africa, for the apartheid system is so vicious--and is backed by all the Western Powers, especially the United States--that those of us who have been trained to fight in Vietnam, for example, and do not want to fight and live in this country may very soon have to form a BLACK INTERNATION AND RETURN TO AFRICA TO FIGHT OR DIE FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY. AFRICA IS OUR HOME.

77 ONE AFRICA, ONE PEOPLE

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
100 Fifth Avenue, [illegible]3
New York, New York 10011 YU 9-1313

August 28,1967.

A MESSAGE FROM CHAIRMAN H. RAP BROWN.

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Black communities throughout tthe United States:

Our brothers and sisters in South Africa have launched an armed revolutionary struggle against the facist,illegal white governments of Rhodesia and South Africa. In Rhodesia some 250,000 whites are supressing the rights of 4 million blacks. In Soth Africa for over fifty years some 2 million whites have brutally supressed the right of self-determination of the africam majority. But the revolutionary armed struggle has begun and we shall win.

The hour has come when we must support our blood brothers. We cannot sit back and wait until the United States has sent troops to Rhodesia and South Africa. Already in South Africa it is the heavy investment of the United States' capitalists that makes this regime stay in power.

YOU MUST HELP!

YOU MUST HELP NOW!

WE CANNOT WAIT!

WHAT YOU MUST DO -

1. Educate yourself about the involvement of the United States and other Western Powers in helping to maintain racism colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. Organise yourfelves as a Committee of One to educate yourneighbours about the nature of the struggle and what they must do now to help the armed struggle in South Africa. Brothers, we cannot wait, fob the struggle will be long and bitter and we must begin to help now.

2. Collect and send money immediately to: Oliver Tambo,President, African National Congress, P.O.Box 2239,Dar Es Salaam,Tanzania. You must send money quickly.

3. Collect and send medical supplies to President Tambo at the same address. Do it now!

4. On August 27th,1967,we sent a letter to Oliver Tambo pledging our moral support and other help as the liberation movements ask fo it.

In our letare we stated that: "In the United States we are this day,Sunday,27th August,1967, calling on black people not to buy new General Motors cars for the year 1968. We are fully aware that General Motors is a heavy investor in South Africa and the profits from exploited labour of our brothers in South Africa makes this company even richer.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT C RD. ATTITTEE
100 Fifth Avenue, Room 8
New York, N.Y. 10011 .9-1313

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE August 27, 1967

The following open telegram has been sent to His Excellency Houphouet Boigny, President of the Republic of Ivory Coast, on the occassion of his current visit to the United States:

His Excellency Houphouet Boigny
President
Republic of Ivory Coast

46 East 74th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. President:

We appeal to you in the name of humanity and the solidarity of progressive black people to release Mr. Lansana Beavogui and Mr. Achkar Marof, two officials of the Guinean government, detained by you while they were enroute from the United Nations.

Our brothers in South Africa have just recently launched an armed struggle for their liberation. South African white authorities are brutally repressing black people and are determined to quash the legitimate right of Africans to liberate themselves from the vicious system of apartheid -- by whatever means necessary.

Mr. Achkar Marof, as Chairman of the United Nations Committee on Apartheid, has played a valuable role in documenting and exposing the atrocities of apartheid. His detention by your government severely handicapped the Seminar on Racism, Apartheid and Colonialism in Southern Africa which was recently held in Kitwe, Zambia. His further detention in light of the armed revolutionary struggle now occurring in South Africa and Rhodesia is indeed a setback to the African Liberation movement and a bonus for the forces of colonialism and apartheid to which your government has declared itself in opposition.

Mr. President, we know that you are aware that we Afro-Americans who live now in the United States are descendants of those who were wrenched from the shores of Africa and brought against their will to the United States. We have been resisting this forced slavery ever since we were captured on the shores of Africa. The recent rebellions in Newark and Detroit are just the latest in a long line of slave revolts and resistance to the rupture from our culture and our degrading condition in the United States. We want you to know, Sir, that many of us -- we the Overseas Africans -- are becoming more and more conscious of our responsibilities to our African brothers as they are becoming more aware of their responsibilities to us. Therefore, Sir, we cannot sit idly by while people who represent the United Nations are held in detention while travelling enroute to their home country.

Also, Mr. President, we must tell you that the Guinean delegation and especially Mr. Marof have always championed the cause of the African Americans. Therefore his imprisonment is a detriment to our struggle as well as to the African liberation movement.

Since we believe, Mr. President, that you too realize that the struggle against Racism, Colonialism and Apartheid is an indivisible struggle and what affects you in Africa affects us Africans in the United States, we are confident that you will release the Guinean delegation and hear our appeal to allow these men to return to the just fight against Racism and Colonialism and Apartheid.

ONE AFRICA, ONE PEOPLE

Signed: James Baldwin
Harry Belafonte
Julian Bond
H. Rapp Brown
Stokely Carmichael
Ralph Featherstone
James Forman
Floyd McKissick
Howard Moore, Jr.

For further information, contact: International Affairs Commission, SNCC, 100 Fifth Ave., Room 803, New York, N.Y. (212) YU.9-1313.

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON APARTHEID
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND COLONIALISM IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA

LUSAKS, REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA
24 JULY - AUGUST 1967

Organized by the United Nations with the cooperation
of the Government of the Republic of Zambia

THE INDIVISIBLE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM, APARTHEID AND COLONIALISM

Position Paper of (SNICK)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Afro-Americans have watched with sympathy and concern the struggle against apartheid and white-settler domination in eastern and southern Africa over the past twenty years. We rejoiced with all freedom-loving people when the victory was won in Kenya. Today, we express our solidarity with the Freedom Fighters who languish in the prisons and detention camps of southern Africa awaiting the day when the heroic efforts of those who are still free to fight will wipe out these inhumanities of man to man once and for all, and place the destiny and welfare of the people in their own hands. It is only natural that we in SNCC should be deeply concerned over the course and outcome of this struggle, for our own members have been engaged for seven years in struggles against a particularly vicious form of apartheid that has existed for centuries in the United States. We can understand South Africa because we have seen the inside of the jails of Mississippi and Alabama and have been herded behind barbed wire enclosures, attacked by police dogs, and set upon with electric prods — the American equivalent of the sjambok. There is no difference between the sting of being called a "kaffir" in South Africa and a "nigger" in the U.S.A. The cells of Robin Island and Birmingham jail look the same on the inside. As the vanguard of the struggle against racism in America, SNCC is not unfamiliar with the problems of southern Africa.

SNCC has never visualized the struggle for human rights in America in isolation from the worldwide struggle for human rights. It was inevitable that a time would come when it would formally declare itself, as it did this year, a "Human Rights Organization interested not only in Human Rights in the United States but throughout the world", and would apply to the United Nations Economic and Security Council for status as an affiliated non-governmental organization. SNCC has made it clear by recorded vote at its May, 1967 conference that : "It encourages and supports the liberation struggles against colonialism, racism and economic exploitation" wherever these conditions exist, and that those nations that assume a position of positive non-alignment express a point of view most consistent with

its own views. Therefore, although our name indicates the original form of our struggle, we do not foreclose other forms of struggle.

In order to implement more effectively its program and to strengthen its link with other groups struggling against oppression, SNCC has appointed a Director of International Affairs, James Forman, and designated the New York office of SNCC as its headquarters for international affairs. The organization's participation in this conference is evidence of its desire to render intensified support to the fight against racism, apartheid, and white-settler domination on the continent of Africa.

As an organization "technically" composed of American citizens, SNCC's first obligation to the worldwide struggle for human rights is to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American government.

It is our firm conviction that American intervention in Vietnam militates against any possible constructive action by the U.S.A. in other areas of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. It distorts any clear analysis of the problem, since policy makers tend to interpret all such struggles in terms of Cold War rivalries. (The shameful intervention in the Congo between 1960 and 1965 was justified on the grounds that it was "necessary" to curb Soviet and Chinese influence in Africa.) Policy-makers of the U.S. government divert resources and energy that should be applied to financial and technical assistance — without strings — to developing areas, including the ghettoes of the United States. It destroys the confidence of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans in the good intentions of <u>any</u> American nationals, laying the pall of suspicion that there may be CIA among them. SNCC took a formal position on the Vietnam War in January, 1966, and our statement declared, in part, that:

> The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee assumes its right to dissent with United States foreign policy on any issue, and states its opposition to United States involvement in the war in Vietnam on these grounds:
>
> > We believe the United States government has been deceptive in claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, jus as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for th

freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the United States itself.

We of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, taught us that United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by U.S. government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes. The murder of Samuel Younge in Tuskegee, Alabama is no different from the murder of people in Vietnam, for both Younge and the Vietnamese sought and are seeking to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the U.S. government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths. (See Appendix A for the full text)

The problem of Vietnam is organically related to the position of the United States with regard to southern Africa. The United States is formally committed to a half-hearted participation in economic sanctions against Rhodesia, but it has vigorously resisted all attempts to commit itself to such a policy with regard to the Republic of South Africa. Although it repeatedly deplores the existence of apartheid there, the United States views the Republic of South Africa as an integral part of a worldwide military system — a site for tracking stations and a haven for sailors going to and from the Far East.

World opinion has moved to the point where it is prepared to support the imposition of sanctions on South Africa in the hope of averting a violent conflict in the future. The U.S. opposes such sanctions — and not only because of its involvement in an East-West conflict. The volume of its investments and its desire not to "rock the boat" are matters that have been well documented by the United Nations and other non-governmental organizations. This working paper need not include the details.

Since its inception in 1960, SNCC has always been interested in the African

phase of the struggle against racism. In 1965, on the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, SNCC became active in attempts to mobilize pressure against the system of apartheid in South Africa by conducting a week of demonstrations in the offices of the South African consulate and the South African mission to the U.N., both in New York. It has also participated with other organizations in the attempt to get Americans to withdraw their accounts from banks doing a large volume of business in the Republic of South Africa.

Increasing numbers of Afro-Americans — and their allies — are beginning to recognize the indivisible nature of racism. The Chase-Manhattan Bank, for instance, has large-scale investments in South Africa and profits greatly from apartheid. SNCC has recently been lending its support to black employees of Chase-Manhattan who are victims of racist personnel practices. A total of 12 Negro employees have filed charges against the bank with the New York City Commission on Human Rights, charging the "baas" mentality among supervisors, denial of promotions and job training opportunities, and intimidation, harassment and constant surveillance after they had dared to challenge these practices. Finally, nine employees were dismissed for seeking redress of grievances. This struggle continues. (See Appendix B)

The parallels between the African liberation movement and the struggle of Afro-Americans are striking. As both movements have matured and the lessons of previous struggles have been drawn, they have increasingly emphasized the extent to which their fate has been linked — without their consent — to Great Power struggles. They have also seen the need for increasing their effectiveness by stressing the right to make their own decisions, uninfluenced by pressures from other racial and ethnic communities even though they may sustain close working relations with them as allies. In the United States this has taken the form of the "Black Power" movement with SNCC in the lead. Within the United States, conservative organizations—some of them represented at this conference—as well

as [illegible] government have tried to undermine, contain, or simply destroy the organization. Num[illegible] incidents might be cited, b[illegible] very recent one will illustrate the point. This month, five SNCC-affiliated students from Texas Southern University will go on trial in Houston, Texas. Their trial is the outgrowth of events on May 16, 1967, when 500 Texas police armed with rifles, machine guns, shotguns and dogs, fired upon and then invaded two dormitories at the University. In the wild shooting, one policeman shot another and a patrolman was killed. Despite the fact that the patrolman was shot on the side of a building where there were no doors or windows, and despite the fact that at least two of the five accused students can prove their absence from the scene, these five have been charged with murder. The brutal conduct of the police inside the dormitories, where they destroyed property indiscriminately, kicked a dormitory house mother, and arrested 487 students (some of whom they also beat) — with these crimes, the state of Texas is unconcerned. This is the same state which the President and the Attorney General of the United States call home.

This is only one of many recent incidents of massive police brutality. Such occurrences led the New York office of SNCC to issue an appeal to the African and Asian missions to the United Nations on June 13th, 1967. (See Appendix C)

This, then, is a brief summary of some aspects of SNCC's recent activity and experience which have relevance for those gathered here. What conclusions and recommendations may be drawn for the consideration of this conference?

We see the worldwide fight against racism as indivisible. Southern Africa as a stronghold of the Herrenvolk mentality has high priority in the struggle. To win the battle there is to hasten the victory in the U.S.A.. SNCC is dedicated to a joint struggle of all who fight for Human Rights in Africa and in the U.S.A., each backing up the other, each rendering what support it can to the other. Therefore, SNCC has come to this conference not only to express its condemnation of apartheid and colonialism, already affirmed in previous statements, and to offer

its moral support to all Africans engaged in liberation struggles. We also come to assert that we consider ourselves and other black people in the United States a colonized people; a colony within the United States in many ways similar to colonies outside the boundaries of the United States and other European nations.

The fight against racism is a responsibility of all who believe in Human Rights, but it is the victims who bear primary responsibility for waging the struggle. We have accepted our responsibility for the attack on the American front. We salute those who are waging the battle in southern Africa. We [illegible] their assistance in our struggle and pledge ourselves to theirs. But we also affirm that strategy and tactics must be decided by those who bear responsibility for waging the struggle, on both fronts. Among African leaders, a remarkable degree of consensus has developed during the past five years on the acceptance of the strategy of a multi-pronged attack upon apartheid, racism, white-settler domination, and the remnants of colonialism in southern Africa. As part of that strategy, they have enlisted the support of the United Nations in arraigning South Africa before the bar of world opinion; in condemning oppressive policies in Portuguese territories; in voting to assume administration over Southwest Africa; and in declaring economic sanctions against Rhodesia. These leaders have also tried to bring the U.N. to the point of voting sanctions against South Africa.

We support that effort to obtain action in the United Nations and, as our recent appeal to the Afro-Asian nations indicates, we shall attempt to do the same for our own struggle. The United Nations is not only a world forum where grievances are legitimately aired. Its constituent nations have signed agreements with regard to Human Rights. Although these agreements are often violated, it is the duty of the citizens of the constituent nations to pressure their own nation and others to abide by these agreements. SNCC has <u>never</u> accepted the position that racism in the U.S.A. is a domestic issue that should not be aired before the United Nations. We call attention to the case of Julian Bond, a SNCC

staff member who was duly elected to the Georgia State Legislature and then denied his seat because he refused to repudiate the SNCC statement condemning the U.S. war in Vietnam. For almost a year, Brother Bond was denied his seat and the people of his electoral district thus denied representation. The legislature's action was clearly motivated by the fact that he was a black militant, an affront to the white supremacist legislature. During this period, Brother Bond was invited to lunch by a number of African delegations to the United Nations. Extensive pressure was brought to bear on those delegations not to attend the luncheon, on the grounds that his case was a matter of domestic concern — an internal affair of the United States. Most of the delegation resisted this pressure, recognizing that racism in the United States is a matter of international concern. This is our position also.

It is thus our privilege to continue in the footsteps of the late Malcolm X, who worked hard to secure the support of African and Asian nations for raising the question of American racism in the U.N. We believe in such efforts, as we believe that the efforts by African leaders to obtain United Nations action have been useful in the shaping of public opinion and in preparing a background of sympathy and support for their local efforts. But we also recognize that many African leaders know the United Nations alone cannot bring them their liberation, as important as its activities are. They have no illusions, nor do we.

The Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) has set up a Liberation Committee to give aid to Freedom Fighters throughout the continent, and has made clear that in the final analysis, African member-states will be prepared to render other forms of assistance if needed. The struggle proceeds in varied forms — guerrilla tactics here, controlled sabotage there; non-violent positive action in other contexts.

High priority should be given at a conference such as this to discussion of how nations and non-governmental organizations will relate to new forms of struggle against apartheid, racism and colonialism which may be adopted in the

future. There are those who still hope that effective economic sanctions are possible. There are also those — among them, we of SNCC — who are pessimistic about the possibility of ever enlisting the aid of the two crucial nation states, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, in supporting sanctions. American businessmen and politicians oppose sanctions; British Labor Party leaders insist that the economic cost to them will be too great; and the war in Vietnam is a barometer of how far these countries will go to protect their vested interest in racism and exploitation, especially the United States.

If no effective action is taken by the United Nations, and as African liberation movements intensify their armed struggle, what will be the response of the nations in the U.N. and of its associated organizations? Will certain powers decide to intervene to protect "missionaries" and "white civilization" or raise the cry of "Communism" to strangle liberation efforts, as happens within the United States whenever blacks vigorously oppose the status quo? Will organizations concerned with human rights provide humanitarian assistance to the casulties of this struggle, as they do in the cases of international warfare, or will they define Africans as "savages" (rather than "Freedom Fighters") and deny such assistance? Will those who sing praise of the heroes of the French, Russian and American Revolutions define the black heroes as "Satanic creatures of darkness?" Is it possible, even now, before the climax of the struggle comes, to define positions, if and when such situations arise? We believe that to do less is not only unrealistic but also a betrayal of the values which all opponents of apartheid say they support. This working paper suggests that such questions as these are of great urgency in the present phase of the struggle against apartheid.

SNCC, as a non-governmental organization dedicated to Human Rights but with its own distinctive approach to the problem of fighting racism, will have its own unique response to make, as will each non-governmental organization at this conference. On one level, this is simply a matter of trying to help create ever-widening circles of awareness of the dimensions of the problem and interpreting

the aims, aspirations, and techniques — including armed struggle — of those who fight for freedom.

The problem of rallying forces inside the United States to a level of understanding and awareness of the nature and dimensions of the struggle for liberation in southern Africa where they can make effective contributions is hampered by a conservative press as it is in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, Bissau, and South Africa. We must build viable organizations and alternative forms of communication to offset the negative influence of a hostile press if United States armed intervention to suppress African liberation struggles is to be prevented. Numerous agencies are devoting time and energy to this task. We shall play our part with increasing vigor in the years ahead.

On another level, we visualize the application of those techniques of organization and struggle that have won us our limited victories at home to the task of trying to prevent U.S. intervention against liberation struggles in Africa. There is the task, too, of mobilizing support for the African liberation struggle, as African leaders ask for it. In turn, we hope that our African brothers may assist us in our struggle in appropriate and feasible ways. On the educational level, we would refer again to the question of the press. As the domestic American press is dominated by white conservatives, the U.S. Information Service operating overseas seeks to cultivate an image of the American government on the side of African-Americans — an image of constant progress being made. Needless to say, this is not the truth. But we must still work to counteract the constant flow of propaganda to that effect and the constant omission of news which might challenge the image. We welcome your assistance in this effort.

In concluding this paper, we would like to summarize and list our basic points and concrete suggestions:

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

1.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2144 (XXI) of 26 October 1966 on "Question of the violation of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories".

We recommend and vigorously urge that this matter be placed upon the provisional agenda of the next session of the General Assembly, and we especially recommend and strenuously urge that a special seminar be convened and held to study and investigate the nexus between racial, political, economic and cultural discrimination in the United States, and racial discrimination and apartheid in Southern Africa.

We further recommend and urge that the policies of racial discrimination in the United States be condemned as posing a grave threat to international peace and security and a violation of the human rights charter; and that a resolution of the General Assembly be duly recorded as condemning the trend in the United States toward racial pogroms and condemning racial discrimination in the United States as a crime against humanity.

2.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2142 (XXI) of 26 October 1966 on "Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination".

3.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966 on "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".

4.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2202 (XXI) of 16 December 1966 on "The policies of apartheid of the government of the Republic of South Africa."

5.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2151 (XXI) of 17 November 1966 on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

6.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 on the question of South West Africa.

7.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2184 (XXI) of 12 December 1966 on the question of territories under Portuguese administration.

8.

We especially encourage and recommend that all member states and non-governmental organizations use every means of persuasion at their command to influence "the government of the United Kingdom to take all necessary measures, including in particular the use of force, in the exercise of its powers as the administering power to put an end to the illegal, racist minority of Southern Rhodesia."

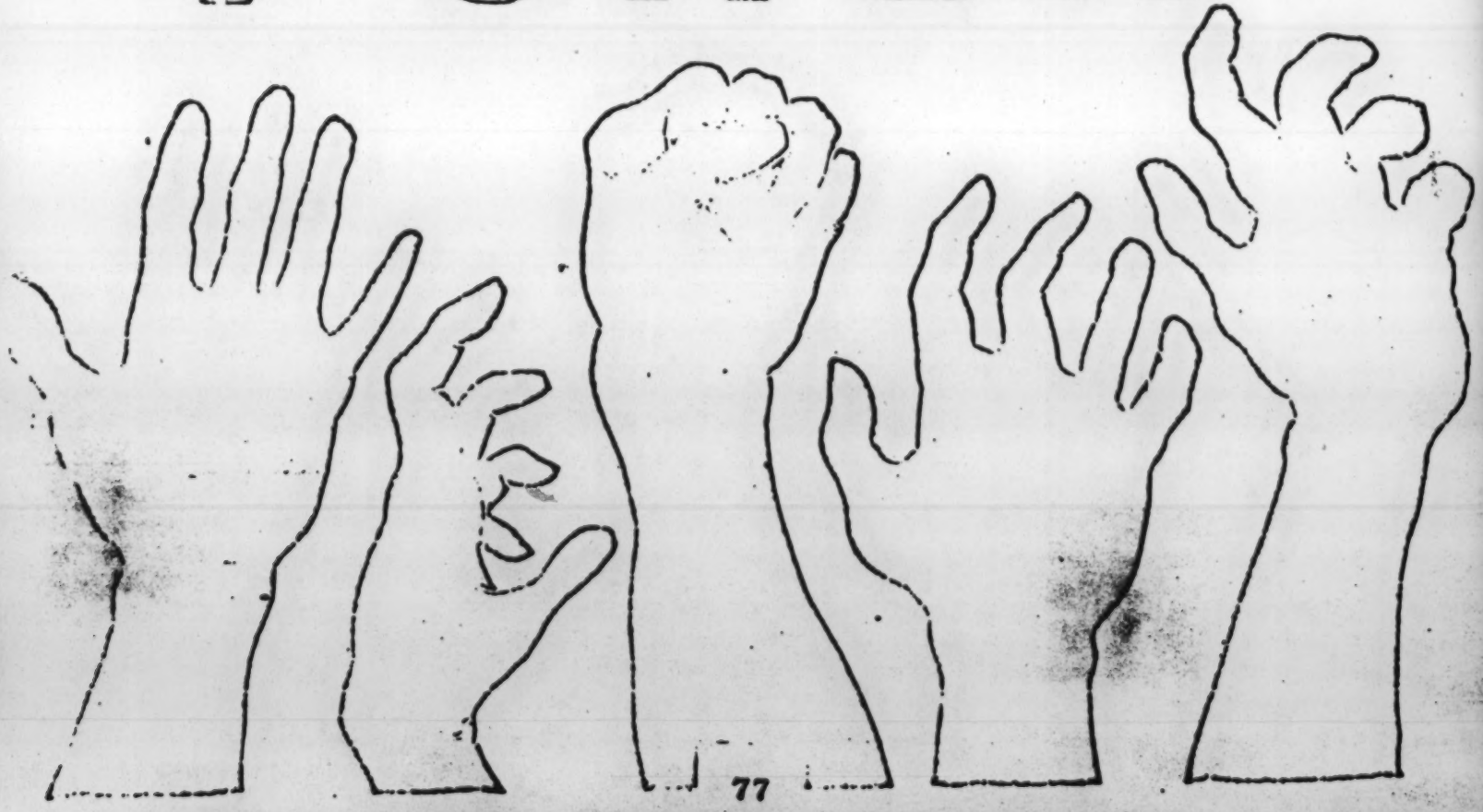
9.

We recommend that the ties between non-governmental organizations and the people of Southern Africa be strengthened, that effective and continuing means of communications be established between NGO and the people of Southern Africa. We further encourage non-governmental organizations to take more vigorous and decisive roles in the liberation struggles and in United Nations activities to end racism, apartheid and colonialism.

10.

We intend to add further recommendations to our position during the course of the conference on racism, colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa.

WE WANT BLACK POWER



BLACK MEN IN AMERICA ARE A CAPTIVE PEOPLE

The black man in America is in a perpetual state of slavery no matter what the white mans propaganda tells us. The black man in America is exploited and oppressed the same as his black brothers are all over the face of the earth by the same white man. We will never be free until we are all free and that means all black oppressed people all over the earth. We are not alone in this fight, we are a part of the struggle for self-determination of all black men everywhere. We here in America must unite ourselves to be ready to help our brothers elsewhere. We must first gain BLACK POWER here in America. Living inside the camp of the leaders of the enemy forces, it is our duty to our Brothers to revolt against the system and create our own system so that we can live as MEN. We must take over the political and economic systems where we are in the majority in the heart of every major city in this country as well as many of the rural areas. We must create our own black culture to erase the lies the white man has fed our minds from the day we were born.

THE BLACK MAN IN THE GHETTO WILL LEAD THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

The black Brother in the ghetto will lead the Black Power Movement and make the changes that are necessary for its success. The black man in the ghetto has one big advantage that the bourgeois Negro does not have despite his 'superior' education. He is already living outside of the value system white society imposes on all black Americans. He has to look at things from another direction in order to survive. He is ready. He received his training in the streets, in the jails, from the ADC check his mother did not receive on time and the head-beatings he got from the cop on the corner. Once he makes that first important discovery about the great pride you feel inside as a BLACK MAN and the great heritage of the mother country, Africa, there is no stopping him from dedicating himself to fight the white mans system. This is why the Black Power Movement is a true revolutionary movement with the power to change mens minds and unmask the tricks the white man has used to keep black men enslaved in modern society.

THE BOURGEOIS NEGRO CANNOT BE A PART OF THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

The bourgeois Negro has been force-fed the white mans propaganda and has lived too long in the half-world between white and phony black bourgeois society. He cannot think for himself because he is a shell of a man full of contradictions he cannot resolve. He is not to be trusted under any circumstances until he has proved himself to be 'cured.' There are a minute handfull of these 'cured' bourgeois Negroes in the Black Power Movement and they are most valuable but they must not be allowed to take control. They are aware intellectually but under stress will react emotionally to the pressures of white society in the same way a white 'liberal' will expose an unconscious prejudice that he did not even realize he possessed.

WHAT BROTHER MALCOLM TAUGHT US ABOUT OURSELVES

Malcolm X was the first black man from the ghetto in America to make a real attempt to get the white mans fist off the black mans balls. He recognized the true dignity of man - without the white society prejudices about status, education and background that we all must purge from our minds. Even today, in the Black Power Movement itself we find Brothers who look down on another Brother because of the conditions that life has imposed upon him. The most beautiful thing that Malcolm X taught us is that once a black man discovers for himself a pride in his blackness, he can throw off the shackles of mental slavery and become a MAN in the truest sense of the word. We must move on from the point our Great Black Prince had reached.

WE MUST BECOME LEADERS FOR OURSELVES

We must not get hung-up in the bag of having one great leader who we depend upon to make decisions. This makes the Movement too vunerable to those forces the white man uses to keep us enslaved, such as the draft, murder, prison or character assassination. We have to all learn to become leaders for ourselves and remove all white values from our minds. When we see a Brother using a white value through error it is our duty to the Movement to point it out to him. We must thank our Brothers who show us our own errors. We must discipline ourselves so that if necessary, we can leave family and friends on a moments notice, maybe forever, and know our Brothers have pledged themselves to protect the family we have left behind. As a part of our education, we must travel to other cities and make contacts with the Brothers in all the ghettos of America so that when the time is right we can unite as one under the banner of BLACK POWER.

LEARNING TO THINK BLACK AND REMOVE WHITE THINGS FROM OUR MINDS.

We have got to begin to say and understand with complete assuredness what black is. Black is an inner pride that the white mans language hampers us from expressing. Black is being a complete fanatic, who white society considers insane. We have to learn that black is so much better than belonging to the white race with the blood of millions dripping from their hands that it goes far beyond any prejudice or resentment. We must fill ourselves with hate for all white things. This is not vengence or trying to take the white oppressors place to become new black oppressors but is a oneness with a worldwide black brotherhood. We must regain respect for the lost religion of our fathers, the spirits of the black earth of Africa. The white man has so poisoned our minds that if a Brother told you he practiced Voodo you would roll around on the floor laughing at how stupid and superstitious he was. We have to learn to roll around on the floor laughing at the black man who says he worships the white Jesus. He is truly sick. We must create our own language for these things

that the white m[illegible] not understand becau[illegible] Black Culture exists and it is not wood-carvings or native dancing it is the black strength inside of true men.

IDEAS ON PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE OF BLACK POWER

We must infiltrate all government agencies. This will not be hard because black clerks work in all agencies in poor paying jobs and have a natural resentment of the white men who run these jobs. People must be assigned to seek out these dissatisfied black men and women and put pressure on them to give us the information we need. Any man in overalls, carrying a tool box, can enter a building if he looks like he knows what he is doing. Modern America depends on many complex systems such as electricity, water, gas, sewerage and transportation and all are vunerable. Much of the government is run by computers that must operate in airconditioning. Cut off the airconditioning and they cannot function. We must begin to investigate and learn all of these things so that we can use them if it becomes necessary. We cannot train an army in the local park but we can be ready for the final confrontation withhthe white mans system. Remember your Brothers in South Africa and do not delude yourselves that it could not happen here. We must copy the white mans biggest trick, diversion, (Hitler taught them that) and inflitrate all civil rights groups, keep them in confusion so they will be nutralized and cannot be used as a tool of the white power structure. The civil rights, integrationist movement says to the white man, "If you please, Sir, let us, the 10% minority of America have our rights. See how nice and nonviolent we are?" This is why SNCC calls itself a Human Rights Organization. We believe that we belong to the 90% majority of the people on earth that the white man oppresses and that we should not beg the white man for anything. We want what belongs to us as human beings and we intend to get it through BLACK POWER.

HOW TO DEAL WITH BLACK TRAITORS

Uncle Tom is too kind of a word. What we have are black traitors, quisslings, collaborators, sell-outs, white Negroes. We have to expose these people for ~~onee~~ and for all for what they are and place them on the side of the oppressor where they belong. Their black skin is a lie and their guilt the shame of all black men. We must ostracize them and if necessary exterminate them. We must stop fighting a 'fair-game.' We must do whatever is necessary to win BLACK POWER. We have to hate and disrupt and destroy and blackmail and lie and steal and become blood-brothers like the Mau-Mau. We must eliminate or render inefective all traitors. We must make them fear to stand up like puppets for the white men, and we must make the world understand that these so-called men do not represent us or even belong to the same black race because they sold out their birthright for a mess of white society pottage. Let them choke on it.

PITFALLS TO AVOID ON THE PATH TO BLACK POWER

We must learn how close America and Russia are politically. The biggest lie in the world is the cold war. Money runs this world and it is controlled completely by the white man. Russia and America run the two biggest money systems in the world and they intend to keep it under their control under any circumstances. Thus, we cannot expect any help from Communism or any other 'ism.' We must seek out poor peoples movements in South America, Africa and Asia and make our alliances with them. We must not be fooled into thinking that there is a ready-made doctrine that will solve all our problems. There are only white mans doctrines and they will never work for us. We have to work out our own systems and doctrines and culture.

WHY PROPAGANDA IS OUR MOST IMPORTANT TOOL

The one thing that the white mans system cannot stand is the TRUTH because his system is all based upon lies. There is no such thing as 'justice' for a black man in America. The white man controls everything that is said in every book, newspaper, magazine, TV and radio broadcast. Even the textbooks used in the schools and the bible that is read in the churchs are designed to maintain the system for the white man. Each and every one of us is forced to listen to the white mans propaganda every day of our lives. The political system, economic system, military system, educational system, religious system and anything else you name is used to preserve the status quo of white America getting fatter and fatter while the black man gets more and more hungry. We must spend our time telling our Brothers the truth. We must tell them that any black woman who wears a diamond in her finger is wearing the blood of her Brothers and Sisters in slavery in South Africa where one out of every three black babies die before the age of one, from starvation, to make the white man rich. We must stop wearing the symbols of slavery on our fingers. We must stop going to other countries to exterminate our Brothers and Sisters for the white mans greed. We must ask our Brothers which side are they on? Once you know the truth for yourself it is your duty to dedicate your life to recruiting your Brothers and to counteract the white mans propaganda. We must disrupt the white mans system to create our own. We must publish newspapers and get radio stations. Black Unity is strength - lets use it now to get BLACK POWER.

SNCC 4165 S. Ellis Ave. Chicago, Ill. 60653 924-6781

VII. CHARACTERIZATIONS

Characterizations of the following individuals, publications, and organizations were obtained from [redacted] except where otherwise noted.

ACT

ACT is a militantly orientated civil rights group, principally active on Chicago's west side with an office located at 413 East Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, on the near south side. Individuals who are affiliated with ACT have associated with "Black Power" groups in Chicago.

ACT leader, LAWRENCE LANDRY, a male, Negro, has been arrested a number of times in connection with local civil rights demonstrations.

FREDERICK DOUGLAS ANDREWS, West Side Chairman of ACT, is a male, Negro, Black Power advocate.

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

The Chicago Chapter of CORE is a loosely organized group suffering from internal dissension and dwindling membership. Many members support the "Black Power" philosophy.

The leader of CORE is ROBERT LUCAS.

Coordinating Council For Black Power (CCBP)

The CCBP is a loose amalgamation of militantly orientated civil rights groups organized around the concept of "Black Power". The CCBP has no office or formal organization. Those individuals who participate in its meetings are affiliated with other local civil rights type groups.

Afro-American Students Association (AASA)

The AASA is a militantly orientated association of high school and college age individuals organized around the concept of "Black Power".

The leader of AASA is JAMES HARVEY, a male, Negro, age 21, a student at Wilson Junior College, Chicago. He reportedly teaches violence and civil disobedience as a means of advancing the Negro cause.

Latin-American Defense Organization (LADO)

LADO has its headquarters at 1306 North Western Avenue, Chicago, and was formed in the summer of 1966 to help Chicago residents of Latin American descent. It is considered the most active and militant community group within the Puerto Rican community.

The chairman is OBED LOPEZ, a male, Mexican, who entered the United States in February, 1957, and is still in the United States in an alien status. He was arrested by the Chicago Police Department in August of 1966, in response to a call "making fire bombs". LOPEZ was found on the scene with a gallon glass container of gasoline. He was charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest which were subsequently dismissed. LOPEZ is former chairman of the now defunct Chicago Branch of Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC).

Kenwood Oakwood Community Conference (KOCO)

The KOCO is a local community civil rights organization whose primary purpose is to integrate the area in a peaceful manner. It does not advocate a militant, violent approach to the solution of Negroes' problems.

"Militant"

"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

"Muhammad Speaks"

The "Muhammad Speaks" is a weekly newspaper published by Muhammad's Mosque Number 2, 634 East 79th Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Oakland Committee for Community Improvement (OCCI)

The OCCI office is located at 3939 South Drexel, Chicago. It is a militant civil rights organization whose purpose is to protest local issues such as alleged police brutality, lack of educational facilities and recreational facilities on Chicago's south side.

The leader is FRANK DITTO, a male, Negro, former taxi driver, who has been arrested a number of times in connection with local civil rights demonstrations.

Protectorights, Protect Our Rights or Protector Rights (POR)

The "POR" is a militant, loosely organized civil rights organization with office located at 4500 South Greenwood, Chicago, that advocates "Black Power" as a solution to Negroes' problems.

A leader of "POR" was CARL TUNSTALL, a male, Negro, who was an unsuccessful candidate for alderman in Chicago's 4th Ward in January, 1967.

EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD

CRAWFORD is the self-proclaimed leader of the DDJ in Chicago. He is a male, Negro, age 45, self-employed carpenter, who is known to be in possession of firearms and is considered possibly dangerous.

EUGENE TOURNOUR

As of November, 1966, EUGENE TOURNOUR was a current member of the CP of Illinois.

[redacted] 11/16/66)

MICHAEL WRIGHT

MICHAEL WRIGHT, a male, Negro, who recently came to Chicago from the south, was co-chairman of a SNCC meeting held December 16, 1966, at 4165 South Ellis, Chicago.

[redacted] 12/19/66)

On May 5, 1967, [redacted] United States Customs, Chicago, Illinois, supra, made available the following information from the Chicago Branch of SNCC office files concerning MICHAEL WRIGHT:

Chicago, 1967

Appendix Report No. 1: Activities of H. Wright in the Chicago area.

--In this appendix to Chicago SNCC's report I shall state, in general, my reasons for coming to and working in the Chicago area.--

As of Nov. 15, 1966 I made my intentions of coming to the Chicago area to research for the Campus Traveling Dept. of SNCC to Mr. George Ware and Mrs. Ruby Doris Robinson; Mr. Ware by word of mouth, and Mrs. Robinson by letter. My ETA in Chicago was set for the first of December, 1966, after several arrangements for my stay here were planned and confirmed.

Following are the reasons for my work in the Chicago area: (1) to do research that would better prepare Campus Travelers for work on Black campuses on a nation-wide scale, (2) to do feasibility observations on an extention of the CTP into the greater Midwestern area, (3) to establish Midwestern contacts for the CTP, (4) to aid in the general office work of Chicago SNCC (which was a part of the agreement made in terms of my residing in the same), and (5) categorized as 'personal'.

I had planned to do research in five general areas for the Campus Traveling Dept., and, along with my research, some writing which should be of value to the CTP in general and SNCC staff also. The ultimate aim of my research was to formulate a series of lectures (or, as you say-- work-shop briefs) aimed at Black college students. Four of these lectures would hinge around the major social phenomena confronting Black students today (Black history, the social realities of racism, the social realities of Moral Debasement, and the social realities of Class-Caste struggle) and the fifth being a treatise on SNCC and its dialectic.

Thus far the material for the paper on Black history has been gathered and and fairly well compiled, the material for the paper on Class-Caste struggle (as such) has been gathered and has yet to be compiled. The materials concerning the social realities of racism are mostly in essay form (as opposed to documentary) and in faily well compiled. The work on the social realities of Moral Debasement has barely been touched, for this being intrinsically the most complex of the five, would have required the most work and thus, an unequal distribution of time, of which I had little to begin with. Finally, the paper on SNCC for all practical intents is complete.

As far as the observations for an extention of the CTP to the Midwest this is all that is to be said: "In the Chicago area alone there are more Black people than in the entire state of Mississippi and in the Midwest area there are more Black collegians than for all of the southern Black campuses combined." These facts that can be found in any reliable almanac or a Census Dept. Report dictate the need!

I have thus far established dozens of very good Midwestern contacts, both on and off campus. This being done through meeting people at various functions and through speaking engagements at different colleges. A complete list will be xx submitted to the CTD at some later date.

A general description of the work that has gone on in the past month in the Chicago area, in which I have aided to one degree or another (mostly another), is outlined in another section of this report.

I do not chose to elaborate on my personal work in the Chicago area at this time, for to do so would tend to incrimi...

Michael Wright, SNCC
Campus Traveling Dept.

VIII. DEMONSTRATION

On September 15, 1967, [redacted] advised that since the beginning of the school year on September 7, 1967, some of the students attending Forrestville High School, 4401 South St. Lawrence, Chicago, have been "bussed in" from outside neighborhoods to attend the high school. There has been friction between these students and students from the local neighborhood. Forrestville has an all Negro student body and "bussed in" students are all Negro. The Second District has been requested by school authorities to furnish police to "keep the peace" in Forrestville High School.

On September 14, 1967, SNCC, planned a meeting at 43rd and Langley, about a block east of Forrestville High School, to begin at noon. This meeting was to protest the treatment received by a Negro girl, CORINNE ROBY, age 18, from police officers on September 11, 1967. Reportedly, on September 11, 1967, police officers questioned a number of Negro youths near 44th Street and Cottage Grove, about two blocks from Forrestville High School. A scuffle ensued during the questioning and one of the youths attempted to strike one of the officers. CORINNE ROBY was standing in the area supposedly waiting for a ride from a boy friend. She is supposed to have attempted to cross the street against police orders and was pushed down by one of the officers.

The SNCC meeting occurred as planned with the speakers berating the Chicago Police Department for police brutality in the CORINNE ROBY incident. Leaflets were passed out which read:

"Police Tom squad beat and kicked black brothers and sisters at Forrestville. Meet at the wall, 4600 South Langley at 12:00 Noon. Don't go to school."

As a result of speeches made at the meeting, students from Forrestville proceeded south on Langley and St. Lawrence, throwing bricks and rocks at cars and police along the way.

Three policemen and one teacher from Forrestville sustained injuries from missiles and were treated at local hospitals. Several police cars were damaged by bricks and rocks.

At the height of the disturbance approximately 300 people were in the vicinity of 43rd and Langley. An unknown sniper fired two shots from a building at 4302 South Langley. The sniper was not located.

As a result of the disturbance 54 people were arrested of which approximately 16 were juveniles.

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APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nation-wide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

1

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE-CHICAGO

A source advised in late November, 1959, that the Young Socialist Alliance-Chicago (YSA-C), formerly known as Young Socialist Supporters, had its origin in a series of informal discussions held in Chicago prior to June, 1959, among individuals who were close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The YSA-C as of November, 1959, proclaimed itself to be a city-wide revolutionary youth organization designed to build socialism in America and aimed toward youth on college campuses in the Chicago area and as being independent of all adult groupings.

According to a second source in May, 1967, the YSA-C, also known as the University Young Socialists, was considered the youth group of the Chicago Branch SWP and affiliated with the national organization of the YSA in New York. The YSA-C officers as of May, 1967, were current members or sympathizers of the Chicago SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS
OF CHICAGO (DCC)

On May 3, 1965, a source advised that on June 30, 1964, a group of young people who attended the founding convention of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) met in Chicago and adopted a statement of purpose and constitution forming the DCC as an affiliate of the national DCA.

A second source advised on May 1, 1967, that DCA chartered clubs in the Chicago area are the West Side DCC and the North Side DCC, neither of which currently maintain a headquarters. There is no central headquarters for the DCC and there are no unchartered clubs in this area.

The second source advised that the majority of DCC members are also members of the CP.

During the past year DCC activity has been almost nonexistent.

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APPENDIX

DEACONS OF DEFENSE AND JUSTICE, INC.,
Aka. Deacons for Defense and Justice, Inc.

The Articles of Incorporation of the Deacons of Defense and Justice (DDJ) as on file with the Secretary of State for the State of Louisiana, reflect that the Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc., is a Louisiana corporation domiciled at Jonesboro, Louisiana. The location and business office address of its registered office shall be Amos Service Station (rear), Beach Spring Road, Drawer B., Jonesboro, Louisiana.

"This corporation is organized for the following purposes and to carry on the following purposes:

"To instruct, train, teach and educate Citizens of the United States and especially minority groups in the fundamental principles of the republican form of government and our democratic way of life; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the provisions of the constitution and laws of the United States and the State of Louisiana, as well as the constitution and laws of any other state wherein this corporation may operate; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the use, value, and purpose of the ballot and the right to vote; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons as to the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship relative to the obligation and duties of the community to the citizen; to further instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the value of economic security and in the effective use of their spending power; to inspire in said persons a sense of responsibility and to develop leadership. This corporation has for its further purpose, and is dedicated to, the defense of the civil rights, property rights and personal rights of said people and will defend said rights by any and all honorable and legal means to the end that justice may be obtained. This corporation may establish chapters and conduct its business at any place in this State and elsewhere as permitted by law."

CG 100-40342

1 APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam(NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5,1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40342

Chicago, Illinois
December 6, 1967

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORT MADE AT	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CHICAGO	ATLANTA	1-11-68	12/6/67 - 4/10/68

TITLE OF CASE

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted]

TYPED BY: bab

CHARACTER OF CASE

RM - SNCC

REFERENCE: Chicago report of SA [redacted] dated 12/6/67.

- P -

[redacted] pg 12

[redacted]

LEADS

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will forward and report pertinent information concerning Chicago Branch of SNCC concerning militant type activities of this organization.

EXP. PROC.

STAMK

- A -

COVER PAGE

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

AUTO	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	ACQUITTALS

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR | YES | NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS | YES | NO

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-439190-9-5.1

FOR COPIES SEE COVER PAGE B.

15 APR 22 1968

EX 11

RACIAL MAT. SECT.

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AGET,	NIC,	OSI,	SEC. SERV.
Request Recd.	MC:	ISD,	CRD,	Crim, IDIU
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.	4/30/68			

Notations

54 MAY 7 1968

CG 100-40342

10 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
1 - Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston (Via Courier)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - Chicago (100-40342)

COVER PAGE

CG 100-40342

ADMINISTRATIVE

[redacted]

INFORMANTS

Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Characterization of ISHMAEL FLORY.
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Instant report.
[redacted]	[redacted] Characterization of FRED HAMPTON.

CG 100-40342

Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-40342-1622
[redacted]	100-40342-1673
[redacted]	100-40342-1692
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Characterization of CASSIUS CLAY.
[redacted]	100-40342-1810
[redacted]	100-40342-1849

COVER PAGE

CG 100-40342

Source	Location
[redacted]	100-40342-1675
[redacted]	157-1297-429

This report is classified confidential to protect sources [redacted] and [redacted] since data from these sources of continuing value could result in their being identified and so compromise their future effectiveness.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] CAROL LEE REDMOND and MONROE SHARP are now out of the country. [redacted]

- E* -

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston (Via Courier)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)

CONFIDENTIAL

Report of: SA [redacted]
Date: April [illegible]

Office: CHICAGO

Field Office File #: 100-40342

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Chicago Branch of SNCC office at 306 E. 43rd Street closed in 1/68, and SNCC legally evicted 3/13/68. ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC operated from residence at 11400 S. Vincennes, Chicago. SNCC activities since 12/6/67 have consisted of BROWN's speeches in Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis and demonstration at Valparaiso, Indiana. He has also travelled to Atlanta, Georgia, Bloomington, Indiana, New York and Washington, D.C. STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speeches in Chicago area, 3/24-26/68 set forth. SNCC leaflets and papers attached.

- P -

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
Excluded from Automatic Downgrading and Declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DETAILS:

A characterization of the following organizations mentioned in this report are in the appendix section:

Socialist Workers Party (SWP),
Chicago Branch

SWP, Cleveland Branch

Friday Night Socialist Forum,
Also Known As
Militant Labor Forum

Friday Night Forum,
Also Known As
Friday Night Socialist Forum and
Formerly Known As
Twin Cities Labor Forum

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
Nation of Islam (NOI)
Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc. (DDJ)

I. PREDICATION

This investigation is predicated upon the change of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from a peaceful civil rights organization to a militant revolutionary organization advocating the uniting of Negroes throughout the world to bring about a world-wide revolution which includes guerrilla tactics by small groups operating independently who can destroy property and then make their escape.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, with residence at 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, advised that he has been evicted from the office at 306 East 43rd Street, and he would have to work "off the street corner" in the future.

[redacted]

[redacted] 2/5/68)

Available public records show that ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN was born June 5, 1948, in Chicago, Illinois. He graduated from Morgan Park High School, 1744 West Pryor Avenue, Chicago, on June 23, 1966.

JORJA ENGLISH is a Negro female approximately 30-35 years of age, a former school teacher whose husband teaches at Wendell Phillips High School in Chicago. She resides at 7932 South Yale, Chicago. She is an active member of the Chicago Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

[redacted] 2/68)

CORE is a militant type oriented civil rights organization composed primarily of Negroes whose present aims include independent political campaigns, concern with slum housing, education, employment, minimum wages and recruitment of Negroes for the anti-draft movement.

[redacted] 1/5/68)

On March 18, 1968 [redacted] advised that on March 13, 1968, an eviction notice was served on the SNCC Office at 306 East 43rd Street, which was unoccupied. As of this date SNCC owed eight months rent totaling $880.00. [redacted]

[redacted] stated the Chicago Branch of SNCC originally occupied this second floor office space on February 1, 1967. ISHMAEL FLORY, Leader of the African-American Heritage Association (AAHA) had previously occupied these premises. [redacted] FLORY moved out and gave the office key to MONROE SHARP, the Chicago Branch of SNCC Director at that time. On May 24, 1967, MONROE SHARP turned the office key over to JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, who on that date signed a one year lease for the office space. In November, 1967, ROBERT BROWN, 11400 South Vincennes, paid two months' back rent of six months rent owed on the office space [redacted]

ISHMAEL FLORY is a member of the State Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois.

[redacted] 3/2/68)

ALBERT MONROE SHARP, former Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, male Negro, born July 3, 1940, at Chicago, Illinois and CAROL LEE REDMOND, former Secretary, white female, born January 5, 1933 in Illinois, are presently residing in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.

[redacted] 1/29/68)

JOYCE BROWN, former Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, has left Chicago and has returned to the South.

[redacted] 9/28/67)

On January 29, 1968 [redacted] related the following information regarding the Chicago Branch of SNCC:

The Chicago Branch of SNCC's primary function was as a fund raising organization for the National Headquarters at Atlanta. However, when STOKELY CARMICHAEL, then National Director of SNCC, appeared at Mandel Hall, University of Chicago, in January, 1967, he changed the policy to an activist militant role. At this time, MONROE SHARP and [redacted] CAROL LEE REDMOND, were leading the Chicago Branch of SNCC as Director and Secretary, respectively. [redacted] they were replaced by JOYCE BROWN.

JOYCE BROWN was ineffective as a SNCC leader in the Chicago area. The leaders of the militant Negro groups could not tolerate a woman being in charge of a similar group and demanded that she be replaced by a man. She was eventually replaced by ROBERT BROWN.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

On February 19, 1968 [redacted] stated that ROBERT BROWN is presently running SNCC from his residence. [redacted] estimated it has been over a month since anyone has been observed going into or leaving the SNCC office. [redacted] who has considerable past experience in the legitimate civil rights organizations affairs, was of the opinion that the majority of the Negroes who previously had frequented the SNCC office were the drop-outs and dregs of the Negro society that gravitate from one hate group to another. [redacted] did not believe that ROBERT BROWN had over three people that he could count on and consider as members of the local SNCC group. [redacted]

[redacted] To his knowledge, the SNCC office has not been occupied since the time of his investigation and he understands ROBERT BROWN is conducting his business from his residence.

[redacted] stated the walls inside the SNCC office are covered with signs, clipped articles, pictures, leaflets and paintings extolling the virtues of such communist leaders as CASTRO, HO CHI MINH and MAO TZE TUNG. [redacted] felt it was quite disgraceful for a Negro organization to foster such a violent anti-American attitude.

[redacted]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC, received $900.00 for his speaking appearances in the Chicago area from March 24 through 26, 1968 [redacted] 3/26/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] 4/2/68)

[redacted]

The "Chicago Defender" newspaper in its weekly edition dated January 4, 1968, carried an article on page 3 concerning an interview of ROBERT BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, age 19, who resided at 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago. BROWN's 1968 program for SNCC was stated as follows:

"We view the year 1968 as a crucial one as far as black liberation is concerned. The northern black ghetto must be organized and black consciousness must be solidified. SNCC's program here will center around politics, the draft, and education. SNCC will attempt to obtain 20,000 to 30,000 signatures on a petition to free H. RAP BROWN, the National SNCC Leader so he can travel."

The article continued by stating that ROBERT BROWN replaced Chicago SNCC's Director JOYCE BROWN (no relation) six weeks ago.

[redacted]

[redacted] 11/10/67)

ACT was a militantly oriented civil rights group principally active on Chicago's west side with an office located on the near south side. Individuals affiliated with ACT have associated with various "black power" groups in Chicago. ACT is now defunct. Its leader, LAWRENCE LANDRY, male Negro, has been arrested a number of times in connection with local demonstrations.

[redacted] 1/5/68)

One purpose of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's recent visit to Chicago from March 24 through 26, 1968, was to get the Chicago Negro youth gangs to stop fighting one another and join his black power movement organization.

[redacted] 3/28/68)

ROBERT SMITH, also known as YAREE AMEER, VERNON RANDOLPH, BOBBY VANCE WALTON, ROBERT VANCE WALTON and JAMES WILLIAMS is Direct Action Coordinator of the Chicago Branch of SNCC. He is a male Negro, born July 11, 1946 at Norfolk, Virginia. He served one year in the Illinois State Prison System for aggravated battery from September, 1964 to September, 1965.

[redacted]

III. CHICAGO BRANCH OF SNCC COOPERATION WITH SOCIALIST AND RADICAL GROUPS

A. SWP

On November 24, 1967, ROBERT BROWN arrived at approximately 9:00 p.m., Friday night at the Militant Labor Forum, Debs Hall, 302 South Canal, Chicago, to address the approximately 45 people in attendance. BROWN apologized for being late stating he had attended a black student conference on the south side. He said people must learn that there is no room for precise planning in these times of chaos.

BROWN began his presentation by reading a poem about black brothers getting their heads beat in by white cops. He then read a 10 minute prepared speech covering the topic of "Black Power, Its Role In The International Scene." He said that in the impending Black Revolution there would be no room for personal feelings, wants or desires. The individual does not count, but only the cause and the ultimate goal.

After finishing the prepared text, BROWN spoke extemporaneously. He stated the Chicago high school riots were no accident, but were planned. He said the Waller High School students had been waiting for three weeks for the Englewood High School incident, which was the signal for them to act. Cooley Vocational High School and Crane Tech High School, were prepared to riot at the same time, but there had been a breakdown in communications. This will not occur in the next violent occurrence, which will occur shortly. BROWN said the high school tactic is designed to divert the Chicago Police Force to various parts of the City to spread their ranks thin so that SNCC can take other activity elsewhere. He commented that the stories about the high school riots because a black teacher got fired, or a black boy got injured on the north side are "bull (obscene)" and that this is the excuse put out by the "System."

BROWN indicated he could care less if a black teacher gets fired. He considers the one over which the incident occurred nothing but an "(obscene)Tom" anyway. BROWN's intention is to close every "mother (obscene)" white racist school in Chicago through rioting. He considered that the black students would be better off without a white oriented education about Western culture until SNCC can set up their own schools with their own teachers and programs. The immediate objectives for the Negro students are that they learn the techniques of demolition, sabotage and how to kill the white man, who is their only enemy.

BROWN indicated the Negro race is a violent race. They are always killing one another in the ghettos. SNCC must now teach the Negro how to turn this violence against the white man. He believes they can, and that the Negro will win because the white man is afraid of SNCC and the Negro. The Negroes know this as well as the white people.

BROWN assured the people there will be no Democratic National Convention in Chicago, in 1968. The convention people may appear to operate the affair, but he guaranteed that no white people would dare to attend the convention. The Black Revolution is here and the signal to begin the revolution is "just around the corner."

BROWN continued that he is no longer worried about shutting down the Englewood High School because "we" intend to burn it down. He doesn't worry about black people being refused admittance at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, because soon there will be no Conrad Hilton Hotel. He doesn't worry about a gasoline shortage, because every gas station in Chicago is going to be a Molotov cocktail. He indicated that the Negro doesn't need an education to win a revolution. As an example he cited Mayor Richard J. Daley as an individual who has no education and indicated BROWN's two year old child talks better than DALEY and "look where he got."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC, is returning to the United States. He is being protected by five Cuban bodyguards. BROWN said FIDEL CASTRO, Premier of Cuba, has indicated that if any harm comes to CARMICHAEL, CASTRO will cause reprisals elsewhere. On his return CARMICHAEL is going to make Chicago his first speaking engagement. Chicago is scheduled to be the first SNCC target for violence.

BROWN stated SNCC's plans to thwart law enforcement include killing every "Black Tom cop" they can locate. SNCC has a complete list of these individuals and they will not escape. They intend to kill every "Tom Nigger" that does not join them on the battle line. There are to be no neutrals. Those that are not with them will be killed. This also includes white people. Those that fight along with them and take their orders will survive otherwise they will be killed. BROWN said this is no longer a local program, but an international

movement and that there are nine hundred million black people in the world waiting to turn on the white man and destroy him.

BROWN said SNCC is no longer a protest group, but is now a revolutionary movement. He indicated SNCC recently gained non-government status in the United Nations. SNCC is preparing to present the Black American case to the United Nations. If the United Nations does not take immediate action against the United States, SNCC is prepared to take over the country. They will do this eventually. At the present time, JAMES FOREMAN, former National Director of SNCC, is residing in New York and has been sending black volunteers abroad. These volunteers are being placed in a fighting or education category and are being sent particularly to African Nations to learn these tasks. The fighters are sent into jungles to become skilled killers and warfare experts. Many of them are learning this under true conditions, The others are sent to technical schools and factories. Their skills will insure that after the successful revolution a smooth transition will take place.

BROWN said that a clash with Federal troops was averted in Gary, Indiana, several weeks ago. This was only because RICHARD HATCHER won the mayoralty by ballot. If this had not occurred, "they" would have declared HATCHER Mayor and placed him in office by force if needed.

BROWN commented that old Negro leaders such as WHITNEY YOUNG and Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. must retire and let the young men assume power. If they oppose their policies they will be killed.

BROWN indicated he was aware he was giving away SNCC plans, but that the authorities couldn't do anything about them anyway. He knew who the "stool pigeons" and "Toms" are and at the appropriate time they would be killed. He presently was in the possession of rifles worth two to three thousand dollars that would be used at the appropriate time.

BROWN said the United States Government was preparing the Black Americans for genocide. He said after the Watts Riot, Negro children were sent to farms that were called recreation camps. He contended that in reality these were concentration camps, set up by the Government to determine how rapidly Black Negro youths could be confined.

[redacted] 11/30/67)
11/28/67)

On December 8, 1967, ROBERT BROWN spoke as a guest speaker at the Miltant Forum, Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, before approximately 35 people. The theme of his talk was "Segreation, Negroes may have to use violent methods to achieve objectives and a Socialist United States system is the only salvation for Negroes."

[redacted] 12/12/67)

On January 6, 1968, ROBERT BROWN spoke before approximately 40 people at the Twin Cities Socialist Forum meeting held at 704 Hennepin Avenue. Room 240, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

[redacted] 1/8/68)

B. SDS

ROBERT BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC was guest speaker at an anti-draft rally held at the Epiphany Episcopal Church, Ashland and Adams Street, Chicago, on January 8, 1968, sponsored by SDS and the Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE). BROWN advocated using dynamite to bomb the Democratic National Convention to be held in Chicago later this year; bombing of oil refineries specifically mentioning Standard Oil but not service stations because Soul Brothers might be killed. BROWN did not know how the white people feel about the war but stated all Negroes are very serious about protesting the illegal war in Vietnam. BROWN shouted that there would be no Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

[redacted] 1/12/68)

IV. OTHER ACTIVITIES

A. ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN's Speeches

On December 5, 1967, BROWN was a guest speaker at Bogan City College, 3939 West 79th Street, Chicago. He was among six "Great Debate" speakers who spoke to the students at the college. BROWN stated, "Niggers are not going to be kept in place much longer. He added that there must be a redistribution of private property in the United States, even if there is a revolution needed to accomplish this. BROWN further stated that if Negroes don't achieve their rightful share of products from industries, cities must burn."

([redacted], 12/7/67)

On January 24, 1968, ROBERT BROWN spoke to an audience of approximately 45 Negroes, both adults and teenagers, of the local neighborhood at the Field House in Washington Park, Chicago, Illinois. BROWN stated that the Negro must obtain his freedom and black power at any cost. If any people get in his way, either black or white, he would get rid of them in one way or another. The black revolution is coming and nothing the white man can do will stop it. He is out for a full scale revolution. To him there is no such thing as integration.

Concerning the 1968 Democratic National Convention to be held in Chicago, BROWN assured those present that it would not take place. He said that his group SNCC does not have any particular strategy planned and probably will not have any until a week or so before the convention is held. He described the convention as a hoax, not for the black man, only to perpetuate the white power structure. He commented to the effect that this Government is oppressing all black people and is fighting the colored people all over the world. He discredited the Government, stating he has no country or government and has nothing to lose.

([redacted] 1/25/68)

On March 22, 1968 [redacted] advised that approximately 200 people attended a fund raising affair for H. RAP BROWN, National Director of SNCC at the Christ Methodist Church, 6401 South Sangamon, Chicago, on March 21, 1968. The meeting lasted from 8:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. The affair was described as a closed black power meeting. ROBERT BROWN spoke at this meeting and urged Negroes to arm themselves instead of marching and suggested a takeover of the Cook County Jail in an attempt to free all Negro prisoners.

[redacted] Corporation Counsel's Office, City of Chicago, advised on January 30, 1968, that the Corporation Counsel's Office is aware of ROBERT BROWN's activities in connection with SNCC and also statements made by him at various meetings. [redacted] advised that unless there is a clear and present danger that BROWN's activities or statements will incite a mob or create a riot, no prosecution of BROWN will be considered by that office [redacted] feels that there has been no information developed to date indicating a clear and present danger of mob violence or rioting resulting from BROWN's statements or actions as of this date. If such information is developed in the future, prosecution will be considered under the charge Soliciting for Mob Violence.

B. STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S SPEECHES CHICAGO, ILLINOIS AREA

[redacted]

On March 25, 1968, [redacted] advised that on Sunday afternoon, March 24, 1968, FRED HAMPTON, President, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Youth Council, Maywood, Illinois, personally contacted Negroes in the Maywood community to attend an impromptu meeting at the Masonic Temple, 13th and Madison Streets, Maywood, Illinois, where STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former Director of SNCC would speak. Approximately 200 Negroes responded to this invitation and paid $1.00 apiece admission fee to hear CARMICHAEL speak. At approximately 4:00 p.m. on this date CARMICHAEL arrived at the Masonic Temple in a late model Cadillac accompanied by five unknown Negro males.

CARMICHAEL spoke for approximately one hour on the themes of Negro segregation from the white race and the history of the Negroes. He also commented on how to achieve "black power" in Maywood, Illinois. He recommended that the immediate objective should be total boycott of white merchants in Maywood, who after they are forced out of business should be taken over and operated by Negroes. A tentative target then set for starting the boycott was May 20 or 21, 1968, which would coincide with the death of a martyred Negro leader. The source was unable to recall the name of the martyred individual.

The source recalled that CARMICHAEL stated in a question and answer session following his speech, "While MARTIN LUTHER KING goes about his non-violent way, I am getting the guns ready."

[redacted].

The source advised that the program was well attended, held without incidents and there were no arrests by the Maywood Police.

Concerning FRED HAMPTON, a source has advised that HAMPTON has been instrumental in causing past racial disturbances in the Maywood, Illinois area. [redacted]

[redacted] 4/68)

On March 25, 1968, [redacted] advised that the Garfield Organization, a Chicago west side community organization under the direction of primarily religious leaders, which attempts to maintain and improve the conditions of this Negro neighborhood, held an annual fund raising program on the evening of Sunday, March 24, 1968, at a Union Hall of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 5247 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Tickets were sold and women from the neighborhood prepared food, which was served. EARTHA KITT, nationally known Negro female actress and entertainer performed at this affair.

Also appearing on the program were local musical groups, DICK GREGORY, Negro comedian civil rights activist and MUHAMMAD ALI, formerly known as CASSIUS CLAY.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL made an impromptu appearance and said a few words which were generally in a humorous manner.

The source advised that the program was well attended, held without incidents and there were no arrests made by the Chicago Police Department.

The source advised the above listed individuals commented as follows:

EARTHA KITT urged national Negro unity and preached against race hatred. CASSIUS CLAY commented that black women should be protected from exploitation. DICK GREGORY commented that if conditions of the Negro do not improve, this summer may see a resumption of racial violence.

RICHARD GREGORY is a Negro male and nationally known entertainer. He ran for Mayor of Chicago as an independent write-in candidate in the local elections in March, 1967. He has led and participated in numerous civil rights demonstrations in Chicago in the past. He has been arrested in Chicago on a number of occasions in connection with these activities. He is considered a "Maverick" who does not lend his support exclusively to any particular civil rights group but will participate in civil rights activities which appear to appeal to him personally.

[redacted] 3/68)

CASSIUS CLAY was the former Heavyweight Champion of the world. He is known as MUHAMMAD ALI in the Nation of Islam Organization of which he is a member.

[redacted] 3/68)

On March 25, 1968, [redacted] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL occupied Room 105 of the Roberts Motel located at 3756 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, during Saturday night, March 23, 1968, and checked out of the motel on Sunday morning, March 24, 1968. Three unknown Negro males who accompanied CARMICHAEL occupied Room 107. These rooms were rented by ROBERT BROWN, 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, Illinois.

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] Roberts Motel, 3756 South Michigan, Chicago, advised that Rooms 105 and 107 were rented by ROBERT BROWN, 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, at 3:18 p.m. on March 23, 1968. Three unknown Negro males wearing African hair styles occupied room 107. ROBERT BROWN checked out of the rooms at 11:30 a.m. on Monday, March 25, 1968, and paid a total of $72 for room service and rent.

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that on Monday, March 25, 1968, between the hours of 4:00 and 6:20 p.m. STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at the West Side Organization Headquarters at 1527 West Roosevelt Road, Chicago, Illinois. Approximately 60 people were in attendance. CARMICHAEL stated that the reason he is in Chicago is to stop the black people from killing each other. He commented, "The black man must stop killing themselves and start killing the white man." The source advised that no incidents occurred, the area remained calm and no arrests were made by the Chicago Police Department.

The West Side Organization is a militant grassroot type welfare union organization which concentrates on locating jobs for the West side slum residents. It has an office at 1527 West Roosevelt Road, Chicago. It is supported by the Chicago City Missionary Society.

[redacted] 1/68)

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that a fund raising rally was held at the Afro Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, beginning at 9:15 p.m. and ending at 11:05 p.m., Monday evening, March 25, 1968. This rally was held for the benefit of H. RAP BROWN, National Director, SNCC, who is currently in jail in New Orleans, Louisiana. There were approximately 700 people in attendance and the Theatre was filled to capacity. Among the speakers recognized by the source at the rally were STOKELY CARMICHAEL, ROBERT BROWN, ROBERT LUCAS and EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD.

Several white males were observed waiting outside the Theatre prior to the affair, but these individuals were told to leave the area. Various news men attempted to attend the rally but were refused admission.

ROBERT BROWN, ROBERT LUCAS and EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD spoke briefly and only by way of introduction to the featured speaker, STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke for approximately an hour and a half, frequently repeating himself and giving the impression of disinterest. Among the often repeated remarks by CARMICHAEL were, "Blacks must love blacks," "The black man must know that the honkey is his enemy," "Blacks must unite."

CARMICHAEL stated, "The white man has done nothing for the blacks except cheat them, as is evident from the days of slavery." "When the white man first came to this country he learned from the Indian and then he killed him." "It is not going to be a long hot summer but it is going to be a long hot year."

CARMICHAEL stated he did not want the various Negro teenagers fighting and killing each other, but rather that they should unite and fight their common enemy. He stated that H. RAP BROWN was in jail because he "rapped too

much" pointing out the truth. CARMICHAEL read the audience a letter he had received from BROWN which commented in the same manner as he had been talking.

Source said students were able to attend the meeting for a cost of $1.00, while adults had to pay $2.00 admission fee. During the affair a collection was taken up for H. RAP BROWN. There was no announcement made as to how much money had been collected.

The source stated there were no disturbances during the rally, order was kept reasonably well, there were no incidents and no arrests by the Chicago Police Department.

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that on Monday evening, March 25, 1968, between 7:00 and 12:00 p.m. a fund raising rally was held at the Afro Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago. The featured speaker of the evening was STOKELY CARMICHAEL who addressed approximately 700 people of which 50 were representatives of black power organizations in the Chicago area.

CARMICHAEL stated that the black people need black supremacy. The black man must have guns not votes and that votes are useless, guns should be used in place of votes. CARMICHAEL protested America's Education System for the Negroes. CARMICHAEL said every black man should get a gun to defend himself and that the Blackstone Rangers should not destroy each other but rather go after the white man. CARMICHAEL took a collection for H. RAP BROWN to help obtain his release from jail and referred to BROWN as a hero.

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that on Monday evening, March 25, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke for approximately one hour at a fund raising rally held at the Afro Arts Theatre, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago. CARMICHAEL's speech was lack luster and obviously off the cuff. CARMICHAEL seemed bored with the meeting and the crowd and quite disinterested. The crowd was extremely enthusiastic at first but sensed his disinterest and responded accordingly.

CARMICHAEL commented that this summer will undoubtedly see "whitey" out to get the Negro. He counselled the audience to become armed and be prepared to defend themselves and their community. He said they should learn black brotherly love and stop fighting each other, stop gang fighting and tearing up their own property. He said there is strength and power in black unity. Black youths need to study their own history and get a good black education. They cannot do this under the inadequate educational facilities available to the Negroes under today's conditions.

CARMICHAEL made mention of H. RAP BROWN on only one occasion and then later to take a collection in his behalf.

CARMICHAEL repeated himself constantly and spent a lot of time preaching the necessity of all factions within the black power movement to unify. CARMICHAEL's comments concerning Negroes arming themselves was limited to defensive purposes and not of the usual inflammatory nature.

The source advised that the speeches were poorly organized and CARMICHAEL was introduced by ROBERT BROWN who made only brief remarks not nearly as violent as is his usual manner. ROBERT BROWN urged Negro unity of themselves and their neighborhoods.

The source observed that STOKELY CARMICHAEL had body guards among whom was EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD. Several of the body guards were observed to be armed with .45 caliber automatics.

EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD is a male Negro, self-proclaimed leader of the now inactive Deacons of Defense and Justice, Incorporated, Chicago Chapter, and has recently proclaimed himself President of the National Negro Rifle Association (NNRA). The NNRA was organized by CRAWFORD to teach Negroes over 18 years of age the laws pertaining to the use of firearms.

[redacted] 1/19/68)

At 6:48 a.m. on March 26, 1968, over a Chicago radio station, WBBM, the announcer commented that STOKELY CARMICHAEL made the following remarks at a meeting last night.

"He promised a summer of violence, that the honkeys are preparing genocide and race destruction, and that the blacks must have a gun to fight them."

On March 26, 1968, [redacted] advised that as of this date STOKELY CARMICHAEL has received $900 for his speaking appearances in the Chicago area [redacted]

The source advised that on Monday morning, March 25, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at the Urban Training Center, 40 North Ashland, Chicago, Illinois, to a group of approximately 40 to 60 students in training. The Urban Training Center is sponsored by several religious groups primarily for the training of ministers for the urban and ghetto areas, however, a sizeable percentage of students are members of the Black Power Community Organizations. The source stated CARMICHAEL made a brief speech to this group and commented mainly on the theme of black unity and black brotherly love. He advised the students that if they can get organized, educated and plan a constructive program, he will return to Chicago in the near future and assist them in the programs implementation.

The source stated CARMICHAEL's speech was extremely conciliatory and mild in comparison to previous speeches by him.

The source advised that CARMICHAEL is not expected to leave Chicago until his fiancee, MIRIAM MAKEBA, finishes her entertainment contract with a local Chicago nightclub, Mr, Kelly's. Her contract is up either March 30 or 31, 1968, as a Hollywood actress and entertainer, PAT SUZUKI, is scheduled to be the feature attraction at Mr. Kelly's on March 31, 1968.

The source advised that MIRIAM MAKEBA has become ill, cancelled her contract, and PAT SUZUKI will finish out the remainder of her contract as of this date.

On March 29, 1968, [redacted] advised that source was among an audience of approximately 130 people at St. Margaret's Episcopal Church Hall, 2555 East 73rd Street, Chicago, Illinois, on Sunday evening, March 24, 1968. The St. Margaret's Episcopal Church membership consists of approximately 300 members composed of about 10% Negro membership. The Episcopal youth organization is composed of about 40 high school teen-agers with the same racial balance which is led by Episcopal Curate Father WILLIAM WETZEL, a Negro. Source learned on Sunday evening, March 24, 1968, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC had been invited to speak before the Episcopal youth group by Father WETZEL. The audience, which numbered approximately 130, was composed of 20 to 30 Episcopal youths, seven adult parishioners, and 100 Negroes, none of which were parishioners. Many of the Negroes wore beatnik and African style hair and attire.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL and about 100 Negroes arrived approximately 45 minutes late. He apologized for the delay stating he had spent the past five hours arbitrating a Negro youth gang dispute between the Blackstone Rangers and another south side Chicago gang. He then retired to a room to the rear of the speaker's platform with a few of his accomplices.

Father WETZEL then had a collection taken to be presented to STOKELY CARMICHAEL as a honorarium.

Father WETZEL then introduced a colleague of STOKELY CARMICHAEL by the name of CLEVELAND BROWN. BROWN is described as a Negro male, 30 years old, 5'8" tall, 140 pounds, medium complexion, brown hair cut normal, clean shaven, neat appearing, slender build, and a soft speaker. CLEVELAND BROWN spoke for about 15 minutes on the theme of police brutality against Negroes. He told of a recent experience he had with police when he tired to lead a peaceful demonstration at Orangeburg, South Carolina, at a Negro college. He was badly beaten by the Orangeburg Police, then hauled off to a hospital andplaced in an isolation ward for 21 days. BROWN said he is now considered a fugitive by police because he has been charged with seven local violations in Orangeburg, South Carolina, and Atlanta, Georgia.

BROWN then introduced STOKELY CARMICHAEL who spoke for approximately 30 minutes, principally on the theme that Negroes must arm themselves and unify. CARMICHAEL appeared surprised to see white people in the audience and explained that he thought he would be talking to an all Negro audience so he would have to change the nature of his speech. He said his main reason for coming to Chicago was to create peace between Negro groups. CARMICHAEL through his speech would state a point and then repeat himself at least three times which source thought was disconcerting, dull, and repetitious. CARMICHAEL made the following comments: "If any white men touch our black brothers we'll kill them"; "Black people must learn to stop fighting with each other"; "Organize and carry the fight to the streets"; "Black people must get guns and ammunition to defend themselves"; "To hell with the United States. To hell with Vietnam. The black people of the United States have always had to do the lowest and dirtiest jobs. Why should they go over and fight the white man's war?"

The source stated the meeting broke up without any incidents. The neighborhood remained calm and there were no arrests by the Chicago Police Department.

[redacted] Source said that one of the reasons why CARMICHAEL came to Chicago was to talk to leaders of the Blackstone Rangers and other Chicago Negro youth gangs to stop their intergang fighting and attempt to have them unite with the Black Power Movement sponsored by CARMICHAEL. The source did not know if CARMICHAEL was able to contact the Blackstone Rangers or other youth gang leaders.

[redacted]

[redacted]

At 12:15 p.m., March 30, 1968, SAs of the FBI observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL arrive in Chicago on United Airlines Flight 147 at O'Hare Airport. CARMICHAEL was accompanied by an unknown Negro male. They were met by two unknown Negro males. The four men then entered a 1965 Plymouth sedan bearing 1968 Illinois License PR 3051.

[redacted] advised on March 30, 1968, that CARMICHAEL and the others drove from O'Hare Field, Chicago, through Chicago, proceeding east on Interstate Highway 94. They were last observed traveling east of Gary, Indiana, on the Indiana Toll Road.

1968 Illinois License PR 3051 is registered to ELMYRA PRATTS, 2213 East 68th Street, Chicago, Illinois.

On June 15, 1965 [redacted], advised that among the individuals arrested on June 11, and 12, 1965, in connection with a demonstration at Chicago, Illinois, protesting the rehiring of School Superintendent BENJAMIN C. WILLIS, was ELMYRA GRAY PRATTS, a female Negro, age 22, who resides at [redacted]

At 5:30 p.m. on Saturday, March 30, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was observed arriving at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, by SAs of the FBI.

[redacted] advised on March 30, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at Western Michigan University before approximately 900 people at a mid-west regional conference on black power.

At 2:30 a.m. on March 31, 1968, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was observed to depart Kalamazoo, Michigan in a bronze Plymouth, two-door sedan, bearing 1968 Illinois License PR 3051, traveling west on Interstate 94 in the direction of Chicago.

[redacted]

C. Demonstrations

On January 31, 1968, ROBERT BROWN participated in a "Black-In" demonstration held at Valparaiso, University, Valparaiso, Indiana. The reason for the "Black-In" was that the Valparaiso University Administration had only permitted 50 Negroes to register at the school and the school has an enrollment of 4,000. Approaches made to the president of the college in an effort to have more Negroes admitted to the school apparently were not effective.

[redacted] 2/2/68)
2/2/68)

D. Travel of ROBERT BROWN

ROBERT BROWN traveled to New York City, New York over the weekend of December 23-24, 1967. He returned to Chicago on December 25, 1967. The reason for the trip was to confer with SNCC officials.

[redacted] 12/26/67)

ROBERT BROWN traveled to Bloomington, Indiana, where he attended an SDS conference held December 27-31, 1967.

[redacted] 1/8/68)

ROBERT BROWN traveled from Atlanta, Georgia, to Washington, D.C. on March 15, 1968. Among those accompanying him was former National Director of SNCC, STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

[redacted] 3/19/68)

ROBERT BROWN traveled from Chicago to Atlanta, Georgia, on Tuesday, January 23, 1968, where he attended a SNCC meeting at which H. RAP BROWN, National Director, was in attendance.

[redacted] 1/26/68)

V.. SNCC LEAFLETS AND PAMPHLETS

The attached leaflet addressed to "Corporate Brothers and Sisters" was obtained from [redacted] Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on January 5, 1968. The remaining leaflets were obtained by [redacted] from Chicago Branch of SNCC Office and Chicago Chapter of CORE Office between October 21, 1967 and March 8, 1968.

CG-100-4034

Got the blues,
But I'm too [illegible] down to cry.
My soul is [illegible],
And what it says ain't no lie. ...

BIACK MEETIN' BIACK

AT THE

SNCC OPEN HOUSE

SATURDAY: 6:00 to 10:00 P.M.
302 E. 43rd. St.
[illegible]

HEAR: SNCC's PROGRAM OUTLINED.

MEET: BLACK PEOPLE FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE,

SEE: BLACK FOLK HAVING FUN.

— COME —

..Support SNCC ..... DON'T LET IT DIE..

ORIGINAL
IN BAD
CONDITION

BEST
AVAILABLE

SR

OPEN LETTER

TO THE PEOPLE:

In this hour of crisis in the nation, in the world and among oppressed minorities everywhere, the Black Peoples Congress calls for a new commitment to the revolution of 1776 and the freedom and equality to all men it promised. That revolution is still unwon. Black people are oppressed and persecuted far more than those white Europeans who fled to America's shore in search of freedom. They are oppressed and persecuted by the great-grandsons and great-granddaughters of those white immigrants.

Black people are caught between the powerful forces of the soft-core racists, on the one hand, and the financial and industrial giants of the north, on the other. They are the victims of a nationwide drive to re-enslave all Black people by trickery, by political manipulation, by force if necessary. By succeeding to buy off Black leaders, and by trying to kill those leaders who they can't buy. Mob violence, lynching, and the manipulation of the Black masses through the guise of "non-violence", are his tools. Civil rights leaders are his fools.

We in the Black Peoples Congress have been possessed by the monster of rage and anger. And in the words of Robt. F. Kennedy: "We are in the midst of a revolution against the status quo. (We) are confronted with systems which have allowed poverty, illiteracy and oppression to flourish for centuries. (We) will achieve (our) goals one way or another. (Even) if (we) have to pull (this) government tumbling down over (our) heads. And (we) will prevail." We will be free, or all mankind will be slaves. PEACE IF POSSIBLE, WAR IF NECESSARY.

WE call on YOU to be unafraid, unmoved by the vicious acts of white racists, friend and foe, alike. TO FIGHT FOR BLACK LIBERTY, EQUALITY and JUSTICE. To rise to the challenge of the times. To help us in our unconditional "WAR ON WHITE RACISM." To help us build our " BLACK SOCIETY".

AND COME WHAT MAY, WE WILL NOT BE STAMPEDED.

BLACK PEOPLES CONGRESS

CG-100-49342

CITIZENS AMICUS BRIEF IN
SUPPORT OF H. RAP BROWN'S APPEAL
FROM HIS BAIL RESTRICTIONS

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER TERM, 1967

MISC. NO.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, ex rel.
H. RAP BROWN
RELATOR-PETITIONER

V.

HON. RAYMOND FOGEL, CITY SERGEANT,
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA,

RESPONDENT.

We, black and white citizens of the United States, herewith respectfully request the Supreme Court of the United States to expedite its consideration of the petition of H. Rap Brown for a writ of certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit and, upon such consideration, to grant said petition.

As we understand it, the United States District Court for the District of Virginia, Richmond Division, imposed upon Mr. Brown, as a condition of his release on bond, the restriction that he could not leave the eleven counties of the Southern District of New York, the district in which the office of William M. Kunstler, one of his attorneys, is located, except in connection with litigation in which he is involved. Because of this restriction on his travel, Mr. Brown has been prevented from fulfilling many speaking engagements, both in the United States and abroad, and will be unable to meet similar commitments in the future.

In imposing this condition, the federal judge indicated that Mr. Brown was "not going anywhere to make speeches because he is going to have to stay in Mr. Kunstler's district except when going to and from trial and going to the defense of these matters."

The inability of Mr. Brown to fulfill his speaking engagements constitutes a subtle but potent threat ot the free speech of every American. If he can be imprisoned in a geographical area from which he cannot emerge to articulate his views and those of the SNCC whose nationalchairman he is, then bail is being effectively used to silence both him and his organization. While there may be many people who disagree with the views propounded by Mr. Brown, it is not in the American tradition to squelch them by conditioning his release on bond on his silence.

The STUDENT NON VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE cannot afford to obtain national radio and television time for the expression of its views. It must depend on their articulation throughout the United States and, in particular, at the many colleges and universities that are eager to provide forums for him. Since the restrictions were imposed upon him, he has had to cancel such engagements at such institutions as Colgate University, Oxford University, and the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).

We call upon the Supreme Court of the United States as the ultimate guardian of the First Amendment to consider his petition for a writ of certiorari promptly and upon such considerations to set aside the restriction of his right to travel. Only such action will the rights of all American citizens be protected and the voice of dissent be kept alive in the land.

NAME	ADDRESS	CITY	STATE
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CG-L... 40312

Student Nonvi... Coordinating Committee
306 East 43rd Street
Chicago, Illinois 60653
373-9025

DOLLARS TO SNCC

I enclose $_____ to carry on the work of SNCC, I pledge $_____ every_____.

Please include me on your mailing list, My name is:

(last) _____ (first) _____ (middle) _____

Address (Street) (City) (State) (Zip) _____

Phone_____

Please make Checks payable to:

SNCC

306 E. 43rd St.
Chicago, Ill. 60653
373-9025

CC-1[illegible]-40342

HEAR

RAP BROWN

SPEAK TO

BLACK CHICAGO

He is being held in New York under bond, and has been refused permission to travel. Each of the last three times he has been scheduled to speak in Chicago, something has stopped him. He will phone his speech in.

Come to the

SNCC

Fund-Raising Rally

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16,1967
CHRIST METHODIST CHURCH
6401 S. SANGAMON
6:00 pm. until

OTHER SPEAKERS INCLUDED :

[illegible]: $2.00 for [illegible]
$1.00 for students

A

BLACK

THING!!

Makin' Revolution Black!

[illegible]

Chicago, Illinois 60653
373-9025

December, 1967

Dear Friend of SNCC,

We would like to ask your help. The "power structure" has escalated its efforts to stop all forms of protest. Tactic after tactic of harrassment, intimidation, imprisonment, character assination, etc; has been used in order to stop the Movement for the liberation of Black People.

The White power structure is conducting an all out war to kill SNCC. Countless SNCC workers are in jail or face the threat of imprisonment. Office after office is being forced to shut down because of a lack of operating expenses. SNCC is sinking fast. But, will SNCC be allowed to die? Not if you really care.

We need your help to raise enough money so that SNCC can remain alive. So that we can continue our Southern program and begin a program to reach the masses of Black people in the Northern ghetto. Black people must be prepared to resist and to survive.

Please give this request serious and immediate consideration.

Thank you very much for your help and loyalty to SNCC.

Yours for Black Liberation

Robert Brown

Robert Brown, Dir.
Midwest SNCC

enc: Pledge form
- Midwest SNCC Literature

373-9025
CG-100-40342

Sir:

The Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee has sat back for some several weeks, and watched with interest the development of the Cook County Jail scandal. We have viewed with amusement the melodramatics of politics as honkies accuse honkies of corruption, briberary, misconduct, and political wheeling and dealing. All at the expense and well being of countless Black lives.

We have sat back and watched the game of political power that is being played by the politicians and with each act, the world has revealed to us a new face. There is no such thing as Justice. There are no free men. And Black people are prisoners in a honkey hell.

We have remained silent while racist have repeatedly made remarks against Black inmates. But, even silence itself, says something. Yes, there comes a time when we can no longer be silent. We must speak, knowing full well that words are loaded pistols, when I speak, I fire.

The Black inmates of Cook County Jail have asked us to speak for them. No probe of the conditions of the jail can be complete without hearing both sides. Black people demand a chance to be heard.

Yours truly,

Robert Brown

Robert Brown, Dir
Midwest SNCC

CG-100-40342

UHURU

CORPORATE BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

WE THE CONCERNED COMMITTEE OF THIRTEEN HUNDRED WANT TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO WISH YOU AND YOURS A HAPPY BLACK NEW YEAR AND TO OFFER OUR HOPE ALONG WITH THE HOPES OF MILLIONS OF BLACK CONSUMERS IN THIS COUNTRY FOR YOUR COMPANY'S CONTINUED HIGH RATE OF GROWTH IN THE COMING YEAR. ALSO, WE HOPE THAT PEACE AND TRANQUILLITY WILL BE THE KEYNOTE FOR THE NEW YEAR RATHER THAN UNENDING VIOLENCE AND HATRED.

OUR PURPOSE FOR WRITING YOU AT THIS TIME IS TO SOLICIT MONEY TO ESTABLISH LIBERATION SCHOOLS THROUGHOUT THE EASTERN SEABOARD OF OUR COUNTRY. THE EDUCATIVE AIM OF THESE SCHOOLS WILL BE TO STIMULATE A BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS THRU THE TEACHING OF AFRO*AMERICAN HISTORY AND TO PROMOTE AN EXAMINATION OF THE TECHNIQUES USED TO EXPLOIT THE TALENTS, SKILL AND BRAIN POWER OF BLACKS TO THE ADVANTAGE OF OTHERS.

WE KNOW YOU WILL WANT TO MAKE THIS A CO*OPERATIVE VENTURE BY CONTRIBUTING YOUR COMPANY'S FAIR SHARE FOR THIS NOBLE UNDERTAKING. ALTHOUGH WE ARE SHORT STAFFED AT THIS TIME, OUR REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO CONTACT YOU***PLEASE HAVE CHECK, CASH, OR MONEY ORDER READY.

REMEMBER, YOUR GIFT MAY BE TAX DEDUCTIBLE***SEE YOUR ACCOUNTANT. THANK YOU AND AGAIN A HAPPY BLACK NEW YEAR.

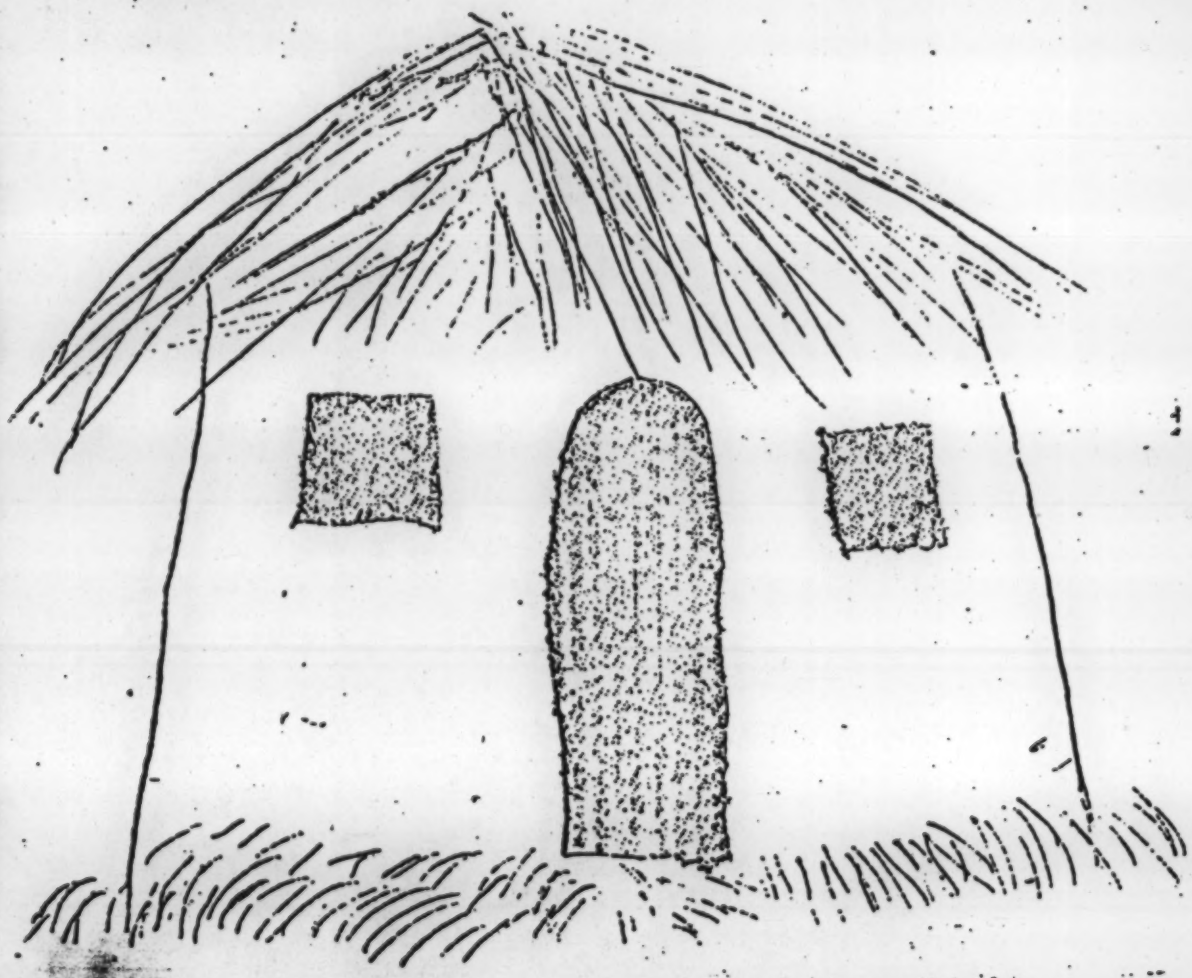
STUDENT NON*VIOLENT CO*ORDINATING COMMITTEE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

W Hayes
A Daley
F Landry

AFRO-AMERICAN REVIEW

UHURU! HARAMBEE

(FREEDOM) (LET'S ALL PULL TOGETHER)



A RICHER, OR THE FREEDOM OF THE MIND IS LIKE [illegible] WITHOUT FOOD...

As of this issue the Afro-American Review will be offering a new feature: "Black History-Past and Present." This feature will consist of capsule sketches of events, organizations or individuals of importance to Black people from pre-history to the present day.

Why linger over events and figures from the past when there is still so much to be done to overcome the present and to secure the future? First, there is a need for Black people to recapture their history-and with it their true identity-from the white slave masters, murderers, and exploiters who have kept it from us or distorted it and used it to keep us in mental and physical bondage. Second, there is a needfor Black people to know their past so that mistakes and misconceptions as to the nature of the Enemy-the white man-can be reduce to a minimum. For example, a knowledge of the atrocities and barbarities of slavery and the slave trade, and of the3,000 lynchings of Black men, women and children since the 1880's would have hipped the brothers and sisters in the non-violent movement to the futility of appealing to whitey's "conscience" or to white folks of "good will." Slavery was ended by a long and bloody civil war, not by sit-ins or picket lines. Freedom comes from the barrel of a gun. Third, the more and energy spent on seeking out and mastering Black history the less time spent in learning whitey's lies or in staring at that idiot box or boob tube that is television. Fourth, Black history can help instill Black people with the necessary spiritual and psychological strength so that we can function purposefully with dignity and courage without having to rely on whitey's: religion, liquor, drugs or women!

UHURU! (Freedom)

HARAMBEE! (Let's all pull together)

NEGROES SWEET, DOCILE, MEEK, HUMBLE AND KIND

BEWARE THE DAY THEY CHANGE THEIR MINDS.

H. RAP BROWN

Rap Brown....Burn it down.

Rap Brown. Burn it Down!
Rap Brown.. Burn it Down!!

This little chant recently gaining popularity among Black youth in such cities as Newark and Detroit is only one indication of the tremendous impact that Rap Brown has made on Black America and the nation at large since his election in May as national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.) Not a fluid and sophisticated speaker like his predecessor Stokely Carmichael, Rap Brown has developed his own tell-it-like-it-is style that has stirred the hearts and blood of the Black dispossessed and caused fear and apprehension among white American and Uncle Toms as no Black spokesman has since the late Brother Malcolm. A few examples of Brown's oratory:

" Violence is necessary, it is as American as cherry pie."
" If you (white America) play Nazis with us, we ain't gonna play Jews."
" The Hunky got respect for but one thing, a gun."
" If America don't come 'round, you should burn America down!"

Born Hubert Geroid Brown in Baton Rouge, Louisiana on October 4, 1943, Rap Brown received all of his formal education in Baton Rouge, including three years at Southern University as a sociology major. Ulysses S. Jones Dean of men at Southern, has testified to Rap Brown's good academic record and to his exemplary conduct as a student.

In 1963, Rap Brown left Southern to go to work for S.N.C.C. in Mississippi. He later became project director for the state of Alabama, the post he held prior to his election to the national chairmanship. Rap Brown got his nickname during his early years as a civil rights worker when his uncompromising stands evoked responses of "Rap it to 'em baby." His career since May, 1967, including a number of indictments for alledgedly inciting riots, advocating treason, etc. can be followed, in a distorted fashion, in the nation's news media. Despite the tremendous pressures, Rap Brown has yet to temper or retract his adherence to the view

themselves by any means necessary.

Hero to Black youth, scourge to white America and Uncle Toms, courageous, dedicated, H. Rap Brown is a man that Black people should be proud of.

THE ROOTS OF THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE

If one were to ferret out the roots of Black bourgeoisie in the United States, one would have to study the varied and sporadic efforts of the Negroes who were free before the Civil War, to acquire wealth. However, it was not until after the Emancipation Proclamation that the spirit of business enterprises to root in the Negro elite. This was due to their association with the Freedmen's Bank, which was established to encourage thrift among the newly freed slaves. Although this premature business venture failed shortly after its start, those Negro elites involved maintained their business experience, and some of the capitol (bread) acquired during their reign. Because the Negroes who were free, had years of "Freedmen's" experience over the newly freed slaves. They quite naturally took over Black leadership. These Negro elites or "house Niggers," began opening shops and small businesses for their newly freed Black brothers. A small number of Negro elites went on more extensive business ventures. Their ventures were found mostly in the field of banking. This was due to the experience given these Negro elites. Negro elites in all areas of community life, education, religion, and fraternal organizations began to organize their own banks in a number of cities of the South.

1. Efforts of the free Negroes to acquire wealth.

Before the civil war, the ownership of land or real estate was the main avenue opened to the free Negro. Who was trying to acquire wealth during the latter years of the eighteenth century, following the American Revolution. Free Negroes began to acquire land in New York and Pennsylvania. Some of the free Negroes who migrated from the South acquired land in Southern Ohio during the

teenth century. In those areas of the upper South which were dominated by the plantation system some free Negroes were able to acquire land despite the general opposition of their presence. As the plantation system of agriculture became unprofitable in the tide water section in Maryland because of the exhaustion of the soil, the plantations were broken up into small farms and some of the growing numbers of free Negroes were able to buy small farms. Some free Negroes were able to buy small farms in the poorer section of this area. The plantation system was also dying out in tidewater section of Virginia. Free Negroes in this area also bought up land. These farms were about twenty-five acres or less, it may be assured that these farms were used for subsistence rather that for commercial enterprises. In North Carolina where the plantation system was never as harsh as in the states farther South free Negroes were able to acquire land, In Louisiana where there was a multitude of mulattoes who were free, there prevailed a free Negro community of fantastic wealth. These free Negroes own plantations which range from 40,000 to 200,000 dallars, and these plantations had from 40 to 100 Black slaves. This was indeed the beginning of the Black bourgeoisie in the United States.

This article to be continued in our next issue.

GET ON THE ROAD

A letter received from a Black brother who is on the road to equality.

Dear Brothers,

Evanston is a hate crazed community. Like so many other cities in the United States. Growing up here was a hell of an experience. I've walked through fire and didn't get burned. Right, I didn't get burned physically, but mentally I was scorched to ashes. I had respect and adoration for the white man. I must have been nuts. I was nuts while living through that nightmare. I was the cast of most Negroes. I was indoctrinated to respect the white man.

But, some Black brothers woke me up and I joined the BLACK REVOLUTION. I now think Black because I know Black is

[illegible] equality. I hope sincerely [illegible] all my other Black Bro[illegible] and Sisters wake up before it's too late. Walk proudly down the road of equality. There is no road to equality unless you think BLACK, BLACK, BLACK, BLACK.

CG-10 [illegible] Thank you,

Brothers for unchaining me.

LEON

Half black man, half honky. His appearance is that of a black man.

His habits are those of a honky. He afraid of the great white father.

Leon will argue, cut and probably kill his black brothers. But, he'll take all the hardships in the world to please his lovable honkies.

Leon is our enemy, and like all enemies he must be purged.

I'll have more vivid information on this poor black brother in next week's article.

Don't be slack---we must think BLACK.

*removed

EDITORIAL

THE POWER OF BLACKNESS

What is the power of Blackness? It is the ability of a whole black community to respond to the white power structure, no matter how insignificant the oppressors act of adulterated hate might be. It is the ability of a whole black community to think from a common base, in other words, to think Black. It is the ability of a whole black community to have racial pride, and not to be afriad of being black: and not to imitate the white man, for all of us should realize that the white races standards are not to be desired. So why copy them?

What is the whole Black community? It is just the whole Black population; the poor and the rich, the weak and the strong, all of us work together from within to improve our economical, political, and social powers. The time has come that we must exercise real power. No longer should we ex-

Negro leaders [illegible] they re[illegible] in the [illegible] have been for basic human rights and are looked upon with great admiration by many; but what materially have we gotten from these so called gaines?

It is time that the Negro of Evanston stop seperating himself from the main streams of Black life. Things in Evanston aren't so good that we should become pacified becaused the white man tells us that our standard of living here is better than Black people who live on the West Side of Chicago. The question should be, do we enjoy the same standard of living that the white man enjoys?

What percentage of Negroes, if any, can move anywhere they want to in Evanston? It is a known fact that we pay more for rent in our neighborhood than in a comparable white neighborhood. In otherwords we are contained in a ghetto and are exploited by White as well as "ambitious"Negroes.

The school system of Evanston is finally intergrated and every Negro family thanks the white man. Why hasn't it been intergrated before now? Even in the school system things aren't as rosy as they may seem. The jump from grade school to high school sets the future for the Black youth. It is during this critical stage of life that our Black youths are that down; for they are given basic classes where as comparable white youth are given regular class and if the school system is pressed enough he may even get honor classes. While the black youth chances of going to college or even finishing high school because his motivation is stifled, the white youth advances.

The Black Youth is also deprived of his true heritage. The White man sets up his standards and rituals all other cultures. By doing this he forces the Black Youth to accept white racism, and bring about division and disorder among the Afro-American, which is one of his main goals. How many black people know anything about their true heritage? What is the power of Blackness?

of [illegible] more. Lets not [illegible] until the white race is ready to give us human [illegible] but create the conditions which makes it necessary.

CG-100-40842

MISUNDERSTANDING AND MISTRUST

For more than a decade in Evanston Illinois there has been an arena of misunderstanding and mistrust between Black people. For various reasons, some justified, other not, we cannot seem to communicate with each other. We of the Afro-American League say to you, the time has come to learn why this is so.

Some of our people say that the only reason that we have these problems is that there has been a high concentration of Southern Blacks and that they cannot communicate with them. We, of Course, term this silly. Others say that Black people are never going to learn how to trust each other. We think that if both of the groups check the situation, that they will see that they are not talking about foreign people, but they are talking about Black Americans. With the same habits, same goals, same motivations, and the same hang-ups, and that hang-up is that they are BLACK, and whether they want to be BLACK or not. this is what they are, and will be for the rest of their lives.

Our main goals is to [illegible] among our

We of the Afro-American League, th[illegible] that at this time we sh[illegible] answer some of the rumors that have been circulated in Evanston about our goals and what we plan to do in the areas of freedom and equality for the Black people, here.

We, intend for all BLACK PEOPLE to be made aware of the problem that exist in Evanston concerning them.

We, seek to unite BLACK E PEOPLE of Evanston, Illinois. For it is the purpose of some whites to divide and conquer them.

We, intend to make the BLACK PEOPLE of Evanston strong in the political areas. To ask every man and woman to register for voting purposes, regardless of his or her political party.

We, intend to improve housing conditions for BLACK PEOPLE. To try and get a ceiling put on the high rent being paid by BLACK PEOPLE.

We, intend to improve relations between the Evanston Police Department and BLACK PEOPLE, so that a racial situation does not arise.

We, intend to make BLACK PEOPLE proud of the fact that they ARE BLACK.

If our thoughts be wrong, then God help our people for

Application for
BLACK YOUTH CONGRESS

NAME _____ AGE _____

Address _____ Phone # _____

School _____

Name School Org. _____

_____

I would like to do:

School Organizing _____
Community Organizing _____
Newspaper Work _____
Research Work _____
Office Work _____
Other _____

Hours _____ to _____

RETURN TO
SNCC
306 E 43rd
Chgo., 60653

CUT HERE

SNCC LITERATURE LIST

Please put my name on the SNCC mailing list.

NAME

ADDRESS PHONE

I would like the following:

- ☐ Soul Talkin' SNCC Newsletter -- $3.00 yearly
- Posters - - - - - - - - - - $1.00
  - ☐ Stokely ☐ Rap ☐ Malcolm ☐ Muhammad Ali
- Reprints:
  - ☐ SNCC at the U.N. - - - - - $2.00 package
  - ☐ "What We Want" by Stokely - - - .50
  - ☐ "Power and Racism" - - - - - - - .50
  - ☐ Stokely at OLAS - - - - - - .50
  - ☐ "Institution and Power" by - - - .50
    Robert Brown

Return To
SNCC
306 E 43
Chgo. Ill 6

"THE HALL OF MIRRORS"

Vol 1. No 1
FEB 20. 1968
Chgo, Ill.

pg.

Soul Talkin'

A SNCC Newsletter

"Wake them up to their humanity, to their own worth, and to their heritage."
Malcolm X

"TOWARDS A BLACK YOUTH CONGRES

pg. 2

CG-100-400 2

WHY A BLACK CONGRESS?

Honkey reaction to Black student protest has clearly pointed to the disuntiy of Black students groups across the country. Massacres (such as in Orangeburg,S.C.) have become the order of the day for the racist buffoons who are fighti g to maintain their systems of colonialism and imperialism. MASS GENOCIDE HAS ALREADY BEGUN!

BLACK YOUTH must begin to orhanize to defend Black people against the white dogs who seek to exterminate us. WE must re-define and re-capture our dignity and destiny.

BLACK STUDENTS, both HIGH SCHOOL and COLLEGE, have always been at the core of the striggle for survival in this country. As a new summer approaches, again, Black youth must do the same.

A CALL IS OUT FOR THE CREATION OF A BLACK YOUTH CONGRESS. The need has been clearly defined:

1) There is a lack of communicatioms among the different Black groups on the campuses around the country. When a rebellion occurs, no one knows anything about it until the honkey puts it in his news media.

2) There is a need to redefine the educational process so that all of this irrelevant bullshit that they throw in school courses will be thrown right back and replaced with something that makes sense. BLACK HISTORY MUST BE TAUGHT TO ALL BLACK STUDENTS, BY BLACK TEACHERS.

3) High school escapes (dropouts) will have an organization which they can identify with and that meets their needs.

4) Local student organizations, instead of addressing their problems alone, will have a UNITED FRONT OF STUDENTS behind them

JOIN and SUPPORT THE AFRO CLUB IN YOUR SCHOOL. HELP BUILD A BLACK STUDENT CONGRESS. FILL OUT THE APPLICATION BLANK ON THE BACK PAGE.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING C
306 E. 43rd ST.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60653

Afterthought To The "Orangeburg Massacre"

The honkies who murdered four, Black, unarmed students of South Carolina State, and wounded fifty more, are merely playing their roles as IMPERIALISTIC, RACIST DOGS WHO SHOOT UNARMED TEENAGERS IN THEIR BACKS.

While the massacre at Orangeburg is tragic, Black people must recover from our grief to learn the lesson that the racist, honk are teaching. There is no alternative for Black people but to arm ourselves, shoot with perfection and defend our own.

All over the country, these dogs are implementing plans to destroy the Black community in mass. Sheriff Woods, that honkey with the toy gun, made by Matell, has called for 1,000 vigilantie to shoot down you and me. HONKIES HAVE GAS, TANKS, HELICOPTERS, AND SOPHISTICATED GUNS TO GET RID OF US. THEY WILL NOT SUCCEED because they are a race of cowards and the spirit of the Vietnam prevails in Black people.

LET US ARM OURSELVES AND DECLARE WAR ON THE LOCAL HONKIES BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE. LET'S FIGHT AND PREPARE TO SURVIVE.

— END —

WHAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE MUST DO NOW!!!

1. MONEY IS DESPERATELY NEEDED FOR BONDS ON CLEV SELLERS AND TH STUDENTS WHOSE LIVES ARE IN DANGER IN ORANGEBURG JAIL. CLEV's bo is set at $50,000 cash. SEND TO:

Cleve Sellers Defense Fund
360 Nelson St. S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

or

c/o SNCC
506 E. 43rd
Chgo., Ill. 60653

2. SNED LETTERS OF SUPPORT TO: S.C. STATE STUDENT BODY
c/o BACC (BLACK ACTION COORD.
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, South Carolina

CG-100-40342

(4)

HALL OF MIRRORS

CITIES	DATE	DEAD	INJURED	ARRESTED	DAMAGE
Omaha, Neb	Apr 1,2	0	2	21	NFA
Nashville, Tenn	Apr 8-10	0	19	80	NFA
Cleveland, O	Apr 16-20	0	4	10	NFA
Massillion, O	Apr 17	0	1	6	NFA
Baton Rouge, La	Apr 30	0	NFA	7	NFA
Rochester, N.Y.	May2, Jul 24	1	2	7	NFA
Jackson, Miss	May 10-11	1	2	NFA	NFA
Houston, Tex	May 16-17	1	23	489	NFA
Chicago, Ill	May21,30 Jul 7,30	0	10	135	NFA
Vallejo, Calif	May 22	0	2	0	NFA
Boston, Mass	Jun 2-5	0	100	159	$1,000,00
Prattville, Ala	Jun 11-12	0	4	10	NFA
Philadelphia, Pa	Jun 11, Jul 26-27	0	NFA	43	NFA
Tampa, Fla	Jun 11-13	2	18	80	$2,000,00
Cincinnati, O	Jun 12-16 Jul 3-5	1	20	384	$3,000,00
Dayton, O	Jun 14-16	0	3	10	$1,000
Lansing, Mich	Jun 15	0	3	2	NFA
Atlanta, Ga	Jun 19-20 Jul 3	1	12	10	NFA
Cambridge, Md	Jun 26-28 Jul 27	0	1	2	NFA
Buffalo, N.Y.	Jun 27-29	0	100	240	$250,000
Lake Geneva, Wis	Jul 1-3	0	10	109	NFA
Des Moines, Ia	Jul 2, 16	0	2	23	NFA
Kansas City, Mo	Jul 9	0	1	11	NFA
Waterloo, Ia	Jul 10	0	5	5	NFA
Erie, Pa	Jul 12-13 Jul 19	0	3	17	$150,000
Hartford, Conn	Jul 12-13	0	11	20	NFA
Newark, N.J.	Jul 12-18	26	1,200	1,600	$15,000,0
Plainfield, N.J.	Jul 14-16	1	50	75	NFA
Cairo, Ill	Jul 16-18	1	NFA	NFA	NFA
Fresno, Calif	Jul 17	0	1	NFA	NFA
Greensboro, N.C.	Jul 18	0	1	10	NFA
Nyack, N.Y.	Jul 19	0	NFA	18	NFA
Minneapolis, Minn	Jul 20-22	0	10	43	$1,0
Youngstown, O	Jul 20-22	1	3	7	NF
Englewood, N.J.	Jul 21-22	0	11	13	N
East Harlem, N.Y.	Jul 21-24	3	14	NFA	
Birmingham, Ala	Jul 23	0	12	70	
Detroit, Mich	Jul 23-30	41	2,000	5,000	

TO BE CONTINUED

CG-I00-40542

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
365 Nelson St. S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

A LETTER FROM PRISON

TO MY

BLACK BROTHERS AND SISTERS

February 22, 1968

Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life, one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe. No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins. Every day I am in prison I will refuse both food and water.

My hunger is for the liberation of my people; my thirst is for the ending of oppression. I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs that black people must be free. The government has taken a position true to it's fascist nature. Those who they cannot convert, they must silence. This government has become the enemy of mankind.

Death can no longer alter our path to freedom. For our people, death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others. Our will to live must no longer supersede our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live.

To desire freedom is not enough. We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution. For every black death, there must be ten dead racist cops. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be ten Detroits, And for every Orangeburg, there must be a Dien Bien Phu.

Brothers and Sisters, and all oppressed people, we must prepare ourselves both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation is yet to come. We must fight. It is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders or systems. The laws to govern us must be made by us.

May the deaths of 68 signal the beginning of the end of this country. I do what I must out of the love for my people. My will is to fight; resistance is not

enough. Aggression [illegible] the order of the day.

NOTE TO AMERICA!

AMERICA: If it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to organize your troops to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your god, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life.

BUT MY SOUL BELONGS TO MY PEOPLE!

LASIME TUSHINDE MBILASHAKA
WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A DOUBT!

Rap

Monday, February [illegible]
Student leaders [illegible] South Carolina State College [illegible]mpted to desegregate the all-white bowling alley owned by Harry F. Ford. The operator of the bowling establishment, the All-Star Bowling Alley, refused to admit the black students.

Tuesday, February 6
Students again attempted to desegregate the bowling alley and were again turned a[illegible] Twenty students were arrested. Later, after word had been circulated on campus, 60[illegible] students from the college went down to the shopping center where the bowling alley [illegible] located, demanding that those arrested be released. Approximately 150 law enforce[illegible] officials were on the scene and some of them, attempting to disperse the crowd, beg[illegible] to beat the students. Several girls were clubbed to the ground. 20 persons were [illegible]jured and were treated at the college infirmary. One unit of the National Guard w[illegible] called in and additional units were placed on standby alert.

Wednesday, February 7
Students met all day and all night, discussing the violence and police brutality d[illegible]ted toward them the previous night, and also protesting the failure of the South C[illegible]rolina State Legislature to approve the budget or to allocated funds for the colle[illegible] although funds had been appropriated for the all-white University of South Caroli[illegible]

Thursday, February 8
Whites drove through campus, shooting at students and into buildings. A campus gu[illegible] was shot and wounded. Student leaders, who had submitted a list of seven grievan[illegible] to the Orangeburg City Council, staged a "prayer-in" during the early evening and [illegible]ter held a meeting in a ball park near the campus. Students, continuing protest d[illegible]monstrations, lit a bonfire on campus. National Guardsmen, claiming that they we[illegible] fired upon, charged into the crowd of students, firing at random. The students, [illegible]ing cover, fell to the ground. The Guardsmen continued firing. Practically all [illegible]dents shot were laying on the ground, face down, and were shot in the back.

The aftermath:
30 students in jail
10 in the hospital
3 dead Sam Hammon (18, killed outright in a blast of gunfire)
Delano Middleton (17, an Orangeburg High School student who died an [illegible] after being wounded)
Henry Smith (18, classmate of Hammon who died early today, who was s[illegible] and then beaten almost to death)

SNCC staff member, Cleveland Sellers, is in a South Carolina penitentiary on $50,[illegible] bond, charged with inciting to riot, arson, assault with intent to kill and damag[illegible] property.
Students shot had to travel to nearby towns for medical attention after being ref[illegible] treatment at the local Orangeburg hospital.

Friday, February 9
Gov. McNair declared a state of emergency and called for a 5:00 P.M. curfew. Bo[illegible] South Carolina State and Claflin Colleges, which adjoin, have been closed indefin[illegible] Students had to pay their own way home. They either had to get out of town by 5 [illegible] or stay on campus.

HISTORICAL NOTE:
In 1960, SNCC's second chairman, Chuck McDew, led major student demonstrations in Orangeburg dealing with public accommodations. That winter all student demonstr[illegible] were herded into a compound outside the city jail and hosed.
This winter, they were massacred.

CR-100-40342

SNCC
360 Nelson Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

SNCC CHAIRMAN KIDNAPPED BY HONKIES

H. "Rap" Brown, Chairman of SNCC is refusing to eat to pro his illegal arrest and detention by the federal government throu its agent in the State of California. Mr. Brown was arrested o the alleged charge that he had violated the travel ban that had been imposed upon him by federal courts in Louisiana and Virgin This unconstitutional travel ban provided however, that Mr. Bro was free to tral for consulting with his attorney which was exactly what Mr. Brown did this past weekend when he wnt to California to consult with Attorney William Kuntsler who is pre a brief to submit to the Supreme Court on Feb. 26th appealing t travel ban.

Once more we see an example of honkie justice violating th rights of a black person in America. But we all know about hon justice, particularly when it is applied to SNCC and other blac militant organizations.

Having been held in maximum security in the Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana, Mr. Brown is now being transported to Richmond Va. for a hearing there tomorrow, Friday, Feb.23rd. I in New Orleans, Rap was charged with violating the travel ban a well as intimidating an FBI agent. Now any black person knows if the FBI will not be intimidated by the American people into the truth about John F. Kennedy, it sure won't be intimidated b man, even if that man is H. Rap Brown.

What went down is simple: Rap was followed to California black FBI agent who returned to New Orleans to testify against During a court recess, Rap went over to the black agent and cor called him by his earned name, "TOM". Mr Brown continued to ex the hope that the agent's children grew up to be a better man t he was. The agent of the Federal Government wanted to take Rap out back but realizing that he would come up on the loosing end action that went down, he broke track records getting to the wh judge. He told the judge that Rap had threatened his life and children's lives. The result was that Rap has been bound over t the grand jury for the charge of threatening an FBI man and bon has been set at $50,000. This, plus the $50,000 bond imposed f the alleged travel ban violation brings the total ransom to $1

At the same time that this was occuring, the State of Loui issued a warrant for the arrest of SNCC's Cleveland Sellers, n the South Carolina State jail under a $20,000 bond following h

(over)

arrest dur[illegible] the Orangeburg Massacre [illegible] Federal Government, acting thro[illegible] Louisiana, wants Seller[illegible] extradited to stand trial a charge of carrying concealed weapons, something they claim Mr. Sellers did when he was in the state two years ago. It is interesting to note that the State of Louisiana dropped this cha so that charges could be pressed against Sellers for refusing to inducted into the Military. Now they are charging him with an o on which they refused to charge him 18 months ago. It should al pointed out that both Brown and Sellers are being threatened wit jail sentences on charges concerning weapons, challenging black people's human right to avail themselves of some means of self-d This is in direct contradiction to the training being given to white citizens by the police in such cities as Kansas City, Miss and Dearborne, Michigan in the use of guns.

We are calling upon all organizations that are concerned wi bringing about fundamental social change in this country to send telegrams to the Justice Dept. in Washington protesting the jail H. Rap brown and Cleveland Sellers. While we are not under any that these telegrams are ever read, they at least serve notice o "Man" that we are watching his every move, and if the telegrams make him reconisder his action against Chariman Brown, and SNCC Secretary Sellers, there are other ways of getting the message a

For the brothers and sisters in the Richmond, Va. area, Rap have a hearing on this Friday, Feb. 23, 1968 at 1:00 P.M. at the Office Bldg. This hearing will be on the charge that he violate travel ban imposed upon him by the federal courts in Richmond a arrest during the Cambiidge rebellion this past July. We are ca upon everyone in that area to go to the hearing. Those that ca in-stand on the steps; those that can't stand on the steps-stan the street. Let Americans know that H. Rap Brown is not alone that black people are outraged and we will see justice done or will pay some dues.

Funds are needed for the H. Rap Brown gail fund and for th Orangeburg Defense Fund. they can be sent to SNCC, 360 Nelson SW, Atlanta, Georgia, 30313.

It is obvious that the "Man" will not be satisfied until h Rap Brown and every black militant in this country dead. We mu let this happen. The atmosphere that is being generated in New around Rap is one of a lynching and observers there state that no doubt that Rap's life is in danger. We are sure that the at in Richmond will be no different. Rather than waiting to die l an animal at the hands of his oppressors, Mr. Brown is refusing eat, feeling that if he must die, it will be in the act of to cooperate with and fighting against oppression that continua off the lives of his people. But it must not be forgotten who blame. If H. Rap Brown's hunger strike leads to his death we every honkie in America responsible, and blacks will start coll all the dues that white America owes. RAP BROWN MUST BE SET F

(30)

Feb. 23, 1968
SNCC

HONKY HARRASSMENT OF CHAIRMAN RAP

Since Rap has assumed the responsibilities of Chairman of SNCC in May of 1967, his term of office has been one long and continuous history of harrassment and intimidation by the system of "just - ice" in this country. In seven months the U.S. government has tried to charge Rap one quarter of a million dollars for his freedom from prison, only to snatch him up again and again and place him behind bars for "telling it like it is" to black people in this damned country.

Now in a New Orleans prison, Rap has loudly proclaimed, "HELL NO"!

"Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life, one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe. No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins. Every day I am in prison I will refuse both food and water.

My hunger is for the liberation of my people; my thirst is for the ending of oppression. I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs that black people must be free. The government has taken a position true to it's facist nature. Those who they cannot convert, they must silence. This government has become the enemy of mankind..." (A LETTER FROM PRISON) -Rap Brown

He has been starving now for one week. He has refused to eat, he has refused to drink. His stomach has shriveled from hunger, his mouth is partched from thirst. He takes no orange juice - he takes no water. Chairman Rap is slowly dying.

To understand the mental ordeal that the government of the United States has placed on Rap we have prepared this fact sheet ennumerating the blows Rap has had to endure at the hands of this government. Read and understand.

July 24, 1968 - Rap is charged with inciting to riot and arson in Cambridge, Maryland. A nationwide manhunt is ordered by the F.B.I. to pick him up. In Washington Rap lays wounded from a honky bullet that creased his scalp in Maryland.

dissent in America have been death, exile or imprisonment. I am no exception.

I am being held as a political prisoner. However, my confinement will not rebuild Detroit nor will it save America from its due fate. For as America has bestowed upon me in my 23 years her extreme disfavor, she has also through her inhumanity, racism, oppression and exploitation of both black and white, domestic and foreign, made herself an enemy of mankind. I am told that people across the country have recognized my imprisonment to be a sounding board which may in some way reveal their own fate. If it takes imprisonment or even death to expose America for what it is, then this is my destiny.

To all those who favor freedom I say thank you for your convictions and your contributions toward that end.

To all the black brothers and sisters across America who are caught behind enemy lines, I say the fight has not yet matured. Arm yourselves, for our freedom is yet to come."

BLACK POWER,

Rap Brown

Aug. 22, 1967 - Rap's bail is reduced from $25,000 to $15,000.

Sept. 5, 1967 - Virginia Governor Goodwin orders Rap to be returned to Maryland to face riot charges.

Sept. 13, 1967 - Rap returns to Alexandria, Va. to be present during court proceedings around his possible extradition to Md. He was re-arrest by Alexandria officials and placed in jail. Two different judges refused to set bail for him. Rap's lawyer, William Kuntsler, appeal to the federal court in Virginia to set bail.

Sept. 18, 1967 - Bond was set at $10,000, and Rap was released on his own recognizance, but in the custody of his lawyer. In granting the bond, the judge confined rap's travel solely "to the district in which his custodian (Mr. Kunstler) resides (southern district of New York) except when traveling for the purposes of trial or legal hearing or in preparation for defense of any charges against

CG-100-40342

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

360 Nelson Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313
688-0331

March 4, 1968

MARCH 20——DAY OF SUPPORT FOR SNCC CHAIRMAN, H. RAP BROWN and THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE UNITED STATES!!!

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

white america has made it's decision public as to how she intends to deal with us Blacks. Every police force in the country is stocking up with gases, tanks, specially armed helicopters, shot guns, carbines, Stoner Rifles (rifles that put a 4 inch hole through ten men, ten inches of steel and make powder out of brick walls) and lord knows what else, in order to treat us the way white america always treats her enemies——SHE MURDERS THEM!!!

The most recent example of white america's plan for Black People is seen in the Orangeburg Massacre and the jailing of Rap Brown. The blood murders in Orangeburg, South Carolina and the jailing of Rap show clearl that this country has adopted a declaration of war against the Black Community. We in turn are asking that you demonstrate support for Rap and the Black struggle on MARCH 20 by engaging in action that will best show your support.

For some, this will mean sending telegrams to the U.S. Attorney General, Ramsay Clarke, Washington, D.C., demanding Rap's release; or sending telegrams to Governor McNair in Columbia, South Carolina demand that the murderers of our brothers be punished. For some, it may mean picketing a federal installation and sending money to SNCC to carry on the Revolution. For others, it may mean taking care of the murderers ourselves or taking care of a police station, or destroying what is mos dear to white america: it's material possessions.

So——take your pick. The first suggestions for action may be relevant to you and help you further along towards total involvement in our struggle——but you must understand that the last group of suggestio for action is where we must go!

WE MUST FIGHT!
WE SHALL CONQUER WITHOUT A DOUBT!

Stanley Wise
Executive Secretary

Ralph Featherstone
Program Secretary

BLACK POWER

WHAT YOU CAN DO!

1. Hold massive rallies, demonstrations, marches, picketing in support of Rap Brown in as many cities, towns, areas, as possible. Contact all groups and individuals involved in the Black Liberation Struggle and ask them to help in this massive effort.

2. At rallies etc., enumerate charges against Rap and read letter from prison which Rap has sent to his brothers and sisters.

3. Engage in any acts of civil disobedience which you consider appropriate, acts that will completely tie up the enemy's system--by any means necessary!

4. Send telegrams in support of H. Rap Brown, demanding his release to U.S. Atty. General Ramsay Clarke, Washington, D.C.
Send telegrams protesting the Orangeburg Massacre and demanding that the murderers be punished to Gov. McNair in Columbia, South Carolina.
Please send copies of telegrams to: SNCC
360 Nelson St. S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

5. Above all, let's take care of business the same way that the man takes care of business with us---in the only language he will ever understand. Our time is running out fast. We must learn a good lesson from our Vietnamese brothers who are defeating America--the so-called "most powerful country in the world." SELF DEFENSE and RETALIATION---with GUNS and STRATEGY---is the only answer! For Orangeburg, for Rap Brown, for Huey Newton, for Max Stanford, for LeRoi Jones, for Cleveland Sellers, for all of us, the word is MAXIMUM RETALIATION TO THEM with MINIMUM LOSSES TO US!!!

1

APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
CHICAGO BRANCH

In May, 1967, a source advised that it was his understanding that the currently active Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was one of the founding branches of the SWP at a 1938 Chicago Trotskyist Convention, and it follows the aims and principles of the SWP which maintains national headquarters in New York City.

Members of the Chicago Branch serve as SWP national functionaries, and per capita membership dues and a sustaining fund quota are sent by this branch on a monthly basis to SWP national headquarters.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)
CLEVELAND BRANCH

A source on May 17, 1967, reported that the Cleveland Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was organized about 1938 or 1939, and was affiliated with the National SWP and followed its policies and directives.

A second source on May 17, 1967, advised that the Cleveland Branch SWP, with approximately 29 members, is affiliated with the National SWP and is currently active in Cleveland, Ohio.

ORIGINAL

IN BAD

CONDITION

BEST

AVAILABLE

SR

CG 100-40342

1 APPENDIX

FRIDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST FORUM, Also known as Militant Labor Forum

In May, 1967, a source advised that the Forum is a paper organization set up by the Chicago Branch, Socialist Workers Party (CBSWP), Chicago, Illinois, for Socialist Workers Party (SWP) members and sympathizers. Open meetings held under the auspices of this Forum are geared to the activities that the SWP is pursuing at a particular time, e.g., unemployment, election campaign, Cuba, segregation, etc.

A CBSWP member is in charge of the Forum and schedules meetings under the name of the Forum in order to conceal the SWP sponsorship of same. The meetings of the Forum generally are held at Chicago SWP headquarters although the Forum, in the past, has sponsored other affairs, such as meetings, socials and picnics held at other locations.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1

FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM
also known as
FRIDAY NIGHT SOCIALIST FORUM
and formerly known as
TWIN CITIES LABOR FORUM

A source advised on May 23, 1967, that the Friday Night Forum, frequently referred to as the Friday Night Socialist Forum, is not an organization, but is a name under which the Twin Cities Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (TCB-SWP) sponsors public meetings. These meetings were formerly sponsored under the name Twin Cities Labor Forum. These meetings are planned and arranged by SWP members acting under the direction of TCB-SWP leadership. Their intended purpose is to dispense Marxist doctrine without identifying the Socialist Workers Party.

The TCB-SWP is an affiliate of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967 Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

APPENDIX

DEACONS OF DEFENSE AND JUSTICE, INC.,
Aka. Deacons for Defense and Justice, Inc.

The Articles of Incorporation of the Deacons of Defense and Justice (DDJ) as on file with the Secretary of State for the State of Louisiana, reflect that the Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc., is a Louisiana corporation domiciled at Jonesboro, Louisiana. The location and business office address of its registered office shall be Amos Service Station (rear), Beach Spring Road, Drawer B., Jonesboro, Louisiana.

"This corporation is organized for the following purposes and to carry on the following purposes

"To instruct, train, teach, and educate Citizens of the United States and especially minority groups in the fundamental principles of the republican form of government and our democratic way of life; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the provisions of the constitution and laws of the United States and the State of Louisiana, as well as the constitution and laws of any other state wherein this corporation may operate; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the use, value, and purpose of the ballot and the right to vote; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons as to the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship relative to the obligation and duties of the community to the citizen; to further instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the value of economic security and in the effective use of their spending power; to inspire in said persons a sense of responsibility and to develop leadership. This corporation has for its further purpose, and is dedicated to, the defense of the civil rights, property rights and personal rights of said people and will defend said rights by any and all honorable and legal means to the end that justice may be obtained. This corporation may establish chapters and conduct its business at any place in this State and elsewhere as permitted by law."

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam(NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI,including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5,1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958,decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

Form No. 1 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Chicago, Illinois

April 19, 1968

In reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40342

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted]

[redacted] insufficient contact to determine reliability.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
FEB 13 1968
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

532PM DEFERRED 2-13-68 RFJ

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCTRATIC SOCIETY, IS- SDS.

b1

REMYTEL FEB TWELVE LAST.

RELIABLE SOURCE ADVISED TODAY UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO CHAPTER SDS (UC-SDS) HELD DEMONSTRATION BUSINESS EAST BUILDING ON UC CAMPUS BEGINNING THREE PM TODAY. DEMONSTRATION HELD IN PROTEST OF UNIVERSITY'S COOPERATION WITH INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSIS (IDA). APPROXIMATELY THIRTYSIX INDIVIDUALS PARTICIPATED IN DEMONSTRATION CONSISTING OF PICKETS CARRYING SIGNS READING "IDA HELPS U.S. KILL BETTER EVERYWHERE" AND "UC GET OUT OF IDA." ALSO FACT SHEET PUBLISHED BY UC-SDS DISTRIBUTED REQUESTING BAIL MONEY FOR INDIVIDUALS ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH RECENT INCIDENTS AT ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA.

EX-113 REC 11 100-439048-2214

SOURCE STATED DEMONSTRATION PEACEFUL AND WITHOUT INCIDENT, TERMINATING THREE FIFTY PM.

USA, SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY AND CHICAGO PD ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS.

FEB 14 1968

END

BAP

FBI WASH DC FEB 19 1968
XEROX
FEB 1968

cc - Thompson

5 - mp

P

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CHICAGO	ATLANTA	7/23/68	4/10 - 7/18/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	[illegible]

CHARACTER OF CASE

RM - SNCC

REFERENCE: Chicago report of SA [redacted] dated 4/19/68.

- P -

[redacted]

LEADS

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will forward and report pertinent information concerning Chicago branch of SNCC concerning militant type activities of this organization.

[illegible] to CG, 8/6/68

[redacted]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUITTALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC	AUTO.	FUG	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100 [illegible] 7-70 REC-68

REC-23

16 JUL 29 1968

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2 - Chicago (100-40342)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	AAC ISD	IDEC,	CRD, CRIT	SS
Request Recd.	ACS I	OSI		
Date Fwd.	8/16/68			
How Fwd.	145			
By	[illegible]			

Notations

[illegible] 806 9th D

29 AUG 29 1968

CG 100-40342

INFORMANTS

Source	Location
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-40342-2021
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	Instant Report
[redacted]	Instant Report
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-40342-1856

COVER PAGE

[redacted]

100-40342-1856

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified confidential to protect sources [redacted] and [redacted] since data from these sources of continuing value could result in their being identified and so compromise their future effectiveness.

Details concerning the UFAP - Murder investigation of ROBERT VANCE WALTON, Et Al, can be found in Bufile 88-44846, Chicago file 88-12083. WALTON is former Chicago Branch SNCC officer and is on the SI and AI.

Following Chicago agitator index subjects associated with SNCC are mentioned in this report;

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN
ROBERT VANCE WALTON
[redacted]

Details concerning the Selective Service Act, 1948, investigation of ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN can be found in Bufile 100-448502, Chicago file 25-50236. AUSA ROBINSON, NDI, Chicago estimates BROWN's case will come up for trial sometime in September, 1968.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 1 - Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston, (Via Courier)
1 - US Secret Service, (Via Courier)
1 - NISO, Chicago, (Via Courier)
1 - OSI, Chicago, (Via Courier)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Chicago
Date: 7/23/68

Field Office File #: 100-40342 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis:

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was arrested by FBI on 7/17/68, for violation Selective Service Act, 1948. BROWN arraigned and released on bond same date. Details of Midwest SNCC conference week-end of 4/13-14/68 set forth. STOKLEY CARMICHAEL's speech on 3/25/68, at Chicago, Illinois, set forth. SNCC funds and officers set out. SNCC leaflets attached.

- P -

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
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CG 100-40342

DETAILS:

I. PREDICATION

This investigation is predicated upon the change of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from peaceful civil rights organization to a militant revolutionary organization advocating the uniting of Negroes throughout the world to bring about a world wide revolution which includes guerrilla tactics by small groups operating independently who can destroy property and then make their escape.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

On May 14, 1968, ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Region Director, SNCC advised that his efforts to open a local SNCC office had failed. He was continuing to operate SNCC from his residence at 11400 South Vincennes Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. He could also be reached through contacting BOB RUSH or JOE MONTGOMERY.

(Source [redacted] 5/16/68)

BOBBY L. RUSH, a male, Negro, is student organizer of the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

JOSEPH MONTGOMERY, a male, Negro, is gang organizer of the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

(Source [redacted] 5/2/68)

Ill.

[redacted]

(Source [redacted] 6/16/68)

III. CHICAGO AREA SNCC OFFICERS

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director

[redacted] On January 26, 1968, [redacted] Chicago Sanitation Department, City Hall, Chicago, Illinois, advised their records indicate ROBERT A. BROWN is the son of deceased LAWRENCE NATHANIEL BROWN who had been a sanitation employee from May 17, 1950, to June 15, 1964. On June 12, 1964, Mrs. ALICE ELLA BROWN, 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, shot her husband, LAWRENCE NATHANIEL BROWN with a bullet from a rifle through the heart killing him instantly. She was exonerated by the court on grounds of justifiable homicide. ROBERT A. BROWN is one of 13 children in this family.

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN is Midwest Region Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC.

(Source [redacted] 5/2/68)

[redacted] On April 15, 1968, [redacted] Armed Forces Examining and Entrance Station (AFEES), 615 West Van Buren, Chicago, Illinois, advised that ROBERT A. BROWN reported for his pre-induction physical examination at approximately 8:30 a.m. on this date. BROWN was accompanied by 2 other Negroes, a male and a female. They remained outside the building for a short time, but carried no signs, created no disturbances, and in no way engaged in picketing of the induction center. BROWN initially submitted to the pre-induction physical; however, when it came to take the mental examination, he refused and at this point he was requested to leave the induction center. BROWN complied with the request and left.

[redacted]

(Source [redacted], 6/6/68)

On June 18, 1968, [redacted] AFEES, advised that on this date ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN underwent a complete induction physical and mental examination. He refused to fill out the Subversive Organization Form DD 98. At the conclusion of the examinations he refused to submit to induction in that he did not take the oath and step forward signifying acceptance of military obligation.

On July 16, 1968, Assistant United States Attorney EUGENE ROBINSON advised that Federal Grand Jury in session in the Northern District of Illinois, Court House, Chicago, Illinois, returned true bill and Judge J. SAM PERRY, United States District Court, Chicago, authorized a warrant for the arrest of ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN for violation of Selective Service Act, 1948, Title 50, Appendix United States Code on a suppressed indictment. Bond was set at $4,000.

On July 17, 1968, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN at his residence 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, without incident. BROWN refused to make any comments without consultation with his attorney. He refused to reveal the identity of his attorney, implying that all the preparations for his release after this arrest had been previously handled. At approximately 3:30 p.m. on this date BROWN's bond was made and he was released.

On May 14, 1968, [redacted] BROWN was first introduced to the "Black Power Movement" by LAWRENCE LANDRY when BROWN was 14 years of age. BROWN was then signed up as a member of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). [redacted] BROWN might soon be ousted from leadership in SNCC. SNCC financial condition is poor and most local "Black Power" leaders would prefer to have a new SNCC leader in Chicago.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) CHICAGO CHAPTER

Chicago chapter of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is a militant type oriented civil rights organization composed of primarily of Negroes whose present aims include independent political campaigns concerned with slum housing, education, employment, minimum wages, and recruitment of Negroes for the anti-draft movement.

(Source [redacted] 1/5/68)

LAWRENCE LANDRY is a male Negro, who was instrumental in the formation of ACT, a militant west side civil rights organization in early 1964. ACT was then described as a "Third Force" in the civil rights movement composed of the most militant leaders in the Negro revolution. He was national chairman of ACT. In 1963 LANDRY was chairman of the Chicago branch of SNCC. He has been arrested in Chicago on at least 2 occasions in connection with street demonstrations and is alleged to have been instrumental in inviting the disorders on Chicago's west side in August, 1965.

(Source [redacted] 1/5/68)

JIL.

On June 6, 1968 [redacted] advised [redacted] He characterized ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN as having an intense hatred of white people also as lacking the intelligence to conduct a constructive program of activities for SNCC.

JOSEPH MONTGOMERY

JOSEPH MONTGOMERY recently joined the Chicago branch of SNCC as gang organizer in the Chicago area. He has influence over a teenage gang in the neighborhood of 75th and Halsted Streets, Chicago, which he uses for SNCC leaflet distribution, canvassing and other purposes.

(Source [redacted] 5/15/68)

BOBBY L. RUSH

BOBBY L. RUSH is student organizer of Chicago Branch of SNCC.

(Source [redacted] 5/2/68)

[redacted]

THOMAS CLYDE CARTER

On May 13, 1968, THOMAS CLYDE CARTER, generally known as TOMMY of 14927 South Leavitt Avenue, Harvey, Illinois, advised that he is SNCC Field Director for the South Suburban Area of Chicago. CARTER described himself as an acquaintance of ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director of SNCC. He said he had met STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director SNCC, on several occasions, but was not a close confidant of CARMICHAEL's. He declined to discuss aims and goals of SNCC, but claimed his branch membership exceeded 50 individuals. He considered a physical confrontation between black and white races as inevitable and had his forces prepared for the assured confrontation. He was critical of the FBI for giving firearms instruction to the Harvey, Illinois, Police Department.

ROBERT VANCE WALTON

ROBERT VANCE WALTON, generally known as YAREE AMEER is affiliated with the Chicago Branch of SNCC as Direct Action Coordinator and leader of the young black miltants.

(Source [redacted] 11/17/67)

On June 13, 1968, [redacted] advised that on June 8, 1968, ROBERT VANCE WALTON accompanied by his brother JOHN MICHAEL WALTON entered a store on Chicago's south side and without warning fired two fatal shots from a .38 caliber revolver into the head of ABDER RAYYAN an Arab National, born in Jordan, who has been in the United States for the past 5 years. [redacted]

[redacted] advised that in addition to the first warrant, a second murder warrant has been obtained for ROBERT WALTON. This warrant was obtained upon the development of new information regarding the shot gun killing of a 7 year old boy on July 2, 1967.

On June 14, 1968, an authorized complaint was filed before United States Commissioner, Northern District of Illinois, Chicago, Illinois, charging ROBERT VANCE WALTON JOHN MICHAEL WALTON and SALLY B. MILLER with violation of Title 18, Section 1073, United States Code, unlawful flight to avoid prosecution - murder. $50,000 bond recommended for each subject. THE SUBJECTS ARE ARMED AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

IV. CHICAGO BRANCH OF SNCC FINANCES

[redacted]

(Source [redacted] 7/8/68)

[redacted]

(Source [redacted] 7/10/68)

[redacted]

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director of SNCC, enrolled in a 3 months training program from January through March, 1968, at the Urban Training Center for Chirstian Missions (UTC), 40 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, which is called "Ministerial Survival Conference in Preparation for Community Action Training Program." BROWN received $60 per week to attend classes for 5 hours daily in this program.

(Source [redacted] 2/1/68)

In March, 1966, [redacted] advised that UTC is supported financially by the Chicago Catholic City Missionary Society, 19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, with a part of these finances coming from a number of churches and church groups in the Chicago area. Among the principal contributors is the Church Federation of Chicago. Most of the staff of the UTC are ministers of various denominations oriented toward a social action-protest philosophy which is "anti-power structure" in nature.

On June 17, 1968, [redacted] advised [redacted] JOHN MICHAEL WALTON now wanted for murder and that he was formerly associated with the Chicago branch of SNCC [redacted]

CG 100-40342

Bulletin number 1185, Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, pages 3 and 4, reveals that the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America Union (UERMWA), was one of 11 unions expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), during 1949-1950, on charges of Communist domination. The bulletin stated that UERMWA was expelled on November 2, 1949 and that its present status was that of an "unaffiliated" union.

[redacted]

(Source [redacted] 2/67)

ERNEST DE MAIO holds the position of President of District 11, UERMWA, 37 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois and is also Vice President of the International UE organization. United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America

("UE NEWS", official organ of UE, June, 1967)

V. CHICAGO BRANCH OF SNCC ACTIVITIES

Communist Party (CP) of Illinois

At the present time there are no CP of Illinois members active in the Chicago Branch of SNCC and the CP exercises no influence over SNCC.

(Source [redacted] 4/18/68)

Midwest SNCC Conference

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, arranged a Midwest SNCC Conference to begin at noon Saturday, April 13, 1968, and to continue through Sunday, April 14, 1968 BROWN invited a number of individuals from outside Chicago from the Midwest area to attend the conference.

At approximately 1:00 p.m. Saturday, April 13, 1968, ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN arrived at Chicago Alderman A. A. "Sammy" Rayner Hall, 7127 South Chicago Street, and discovered that Chicago Police Department officers were already on the scene. Several officers BROWN recognized as being with the Human Relations Unit. They interviewed BROWN advising him that at his meeting on this date he had better be careful, not engage in any unlawful activity or make any inflammatory remarks or he would be subject to possible arrest.

BROWN then warned each person individually that came to the hall for the SNCC meeting that they were under police surveillance and to surreptitiously go to the meeting place which would be held that evening at 6:00 p.m. at 5008 South Dorchester, Chicago.

The meeting was held between 8:00 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. BROWN stated that no meeting should last longer than 2 hours as no blacks should be together at one place too long for security reasons. He said no one place should ever be used for more than one such SNCC meeting. Approximately 20 to 25 Negroes were in attendance at the meeting. No extensive

introductions were made as the majority appeared to know one another. Four or five of the Negroes were from outside the Chicago area, however, the source recognized only "TUCK" ADDISON from Gary, Indiana, and FRANK JACKSON from Kalamazoo, Michigan.

BROWN stated that similar SNCC meetings were being held in various places around the country. He said the black groups have to be ready to coordinate activities if the future black revolution is to be effective. He belittled the efforts by local black power groups to form a united black front. He explained that this is just a hoax and SNCC would not be part of it. SNCC must get itself and its associates together. They must organize so that each individual has his own "job" which would be in an area which the individual himself feels to be most important. Whatever "job" is selected by an individual it should be kept secret from other SNCC members and should absolutely remain that way. This type of security is necessary so that no one else can innocently or otherwise tell on another SNCC member. BROWN said in the future he would not be able to handle details of anyone's "job" and does not want to know any individuals "job" function. He said if members find themselves under surveillance by the police not to come to him. He does not want to be restricted in his movements so he does not want to be involved in their problems. He said no black man should go to jail or submit to arrest. If danger of being arrested they should shoot it out with the police.

BROWN was asked for examples of what he meant by "job" and he implied that if someone wanted to do a job in a political field that person would select a politican or a public figure who is a danger to the movement or an individua hindering the black power movement and the job would be to "remove" that individual. He indicated this type of "job" should be well organized and handled efficiently. He explained that such individuals should be handled by "us" before these individuals have a cnance to act against "us".

BROWN said there will be a black convention in Chicago at the same time the Democratic National Convention is to be held. He expected black militants from all over the country to be in Chicago to "tear up the city." BROWN will see to it that Chicago is full of disturbances with the objective to keep the convention from being held and to make it necessary to move elsewhere.

As a further example BROWN said that in the field of eduction the SNCC member who takes this assignment for his "job" should keep in mind the objective that all schools should be closed down. Black students should not be studying courses set up under the white system. The schools are not teaching subjects of interest to the black. The United States laws are not black laws and blacks have no responsibility to obey the white mans' laws. The blacks should not serve the white mans' country and should not even consider themselves citizens of ths country. This country should be "wrecked".

The crowd was attentive and generally quiet throughout BROWN's talk. BROWN was asked it he wanted to hand out assignments on "jobs". BROWN refused and implied that each individual member is on his own and will have to determine, when, where, and what time to carry out his "job".

BROWN placed much stress on future security of operation. "TUCK" ADDISON commented that he was not interested in associating with anyone who would have to be persuaded to handle a "job". All of the individuals in this meeting were expected to be committed to the movement. He did not want problems created by any individual member who was having trouble with the authorities. He said police and informers whose identities can be determined should be killed. He wanted to associate with people in the movement who have been in jail and can be trusted or who have been in the movement for a long time. He would not associate with any new member in the movement.

(Source [redacted]/15/68)

CG 100-40342

FRANK JACKSON

FRANK AUGUSTUS JACKSON is a sophmore student at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, where he is a member of a recently chartered student organization called Black Action Movement (BAM). This organization recently sponsored a "Midwestern Regional Conference on Black Power" from March 29 through 31, 1968.

(Source [redacted] 4/1/68)

EGBERT LANGSTON ADDISON, generally known as "TUCK" ADDISON was a graduate of Lincoln University where he was known as a "agitator and black power" advocate. ADDISON was opposed to the war in Vietnam and at one time requested leave to go to North Vietnam which request was denied.

(Source [redacted] 9/15/67)

University of Northwestern Disturbance, Evanston, Illinois

On May 3, 1968, [redacted] advi shortly before 8:00 a.m. on this date that approximately 60 Negroes, reportedly members of an organization called "For Members Only" (FMO) which is an all Negro organization recently formed on the University of Northwestern (NU) Campus to provide facilities for Negro social gatherings and to serve as a medium for the study of Negro culture, gained entry to the administrative building of NU located at 619 West Clark Street, Evanston, Illinois. A member of the janitorial staff open the doors prior to the official opening of the building at 8:30 am. The group barricaded themselves in the building and refused entry to employees of the building. This group is demanding that more Negro students be admitted to NU and that the school administration "do away with races" and proceeded to hang signs to this effect in the area of the building.

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director SNCC and ROBERT RUSH, Student Organizer, SNCC, traveled to NU campus in connection with the student demonstration. BROWN and RUSH had planned to remain with the demonstrators, however, BROWN and the leader of the student demonstration were in disagreement over the students demands and BROWN and RUSH departed in the late afternoon hours.

(Source [redacted] 5/3/68)

CG 100-40342

STOKELY CARMICHAEL Speech, Chicago, Illinois

On May 2, 1968, the following verbatim transcript of a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC which he made at the Afro Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, on March 25, 1968, was made available on this date.

(Source [redacted] 5/2/68)

Stokely Carmichael: Good evening brothers and sisters...I can wrap some coats on to you. We have a lot to talk about tonight. We want to take our time and understand what we have to talk about tonight. I think in part if you see any black man you see Negroes, we all the same.

Response from audience.

Carmichael: Now then tonight we have to be very very serious and we have to understand very clearly what is happening in this country. It is crystal clear that the honkies are preparing to commit genocide against this beautiful race of people.

Person from audience: Peace brother.

Carmichael: That's clear and we want to go over that because what we're talking about tonight is not political, not economic, not poverty program. We're talking about survival, survival, survival, and survival is entirely different from old, poverty program, education, and all that junk. After you have survival you can play with that, but when your talking about survival you're talking about food, shelter, clothing, that's all. Now there are some of our brothers and sisters who do not believe that white people will or getting ready to commit genocide against us. So we have to be clear in our minds when we say they are getting ready to commit genocide against us, that we can at least explain that from grounds over which they can see the light. Now it is very easy. All we have to do is to let our brothers and sisters read the man's history. If you read the honkies history you'd see wherever the honkies got they disrupted societies, disrupted societies. We can explain to brothers that the honkies came to this country. The Indians took him in and fed him, showed him how to plant corn, to hunt, fish, how to adapt to this country and when the Indians showed him that he wiped him out. We have to demonstrate to our people exactly what is going on because if we do not break off we're going to be dead. We can explain to the brother that when the honky went to South America he saw the Aztec Indians with their silver and their copper and all of their monuments. The Aztec Indians took him in showed him the silver. He fight, stole, it and wiped them out.

We are not teaching it tonight, we're giving facts. We'll tell you what we're preaching.

The honkies went to Africa. We were milling in Africa. We were the greatest there was. He came, he got mad. He stole our gold, stole our diamonds, stole our copper, stole our zinc, and turned around and stole us as well.

He went to China. The Chinese had gunpowder. They used it for fireworks on their days of festivities. They sold it to the honkies. He refined it, made a gun, and came back, shot them all. I ask you to read the honkies' history and show me where he has gone where he has not conquered, where he is the majority or the minority.

What we're dealing with today is the final showdown, the confrontation between the black and white around the world especially inside the United States, and since we're dealing with a final confrontation of black or white, we have to ask ourselves how will we survive, but brothers and sisters you don't have to worry because we're gonna survive, and therefore he is capable of doing it. We must prepare ourselves... preparation. I always tell a little joke about the brother in Alabama. This honky came into a juke joint and just started hitting on his brother and kicked him all down the floor and the white man jumped up, he said, "Nigger if I had my gun I'd kill you. The brother said"slide up against the wall here. White man you mean to tell me you have... (rest of joke unintelligible because of large response by audience).

It is always better to be prepared then to be not prepared and it is always better to have you than caught without it, but there is another reason why we say he is getting ready to commit genocide against us. He brought us here for a specific reason to build this country. We have built this country so it is the most powerful and richest country in the world. We built it. He no longer has need of us. When you don't need something destroy it.

If its costing you much money destroy it. You get rid of it. Now if we say that he is getting ready to do this thing to us and if we are talking about survival, then some of the conferences we lost last year, we must go beyond.

We have three very important concepts which we must all understand very clearly in our minds, and these concepts are going to help to build the type of ideology that is going to bind us together as a group..to shoot this white man once and for all, that's very important. The first concept: We must have undying love for our people. I want to repeat that we must have undying love for our people, and that's the most important thing we have. If we have undying love for our people we would not be dying in Viet Nam. We would be dying in the streets of Chicago. We do not have undying love for our people because he has transferred the love that we once had for each other for relative things like this country. So we are willing to die for his country but we are not willing to die for our people.

Response from audience.

...first our people then, and only then you and me as individuals. Our people must come first. The only thing is that an undying love of our people is going to be very hard, because we hate each other so much, and we hate each other so much because we are taught how to hate each other; and if we are talking about building an undying love for our people we must begin to want..All of those things he taught us, the first thing he taught us was to hate black because that's us. It is no accident that we have such...statements about the blacks he taught us...Even today some of our people still want to be called Negro rather than be called black. It is because we have a hatred of that which is black that we hate ourselves, because black is like us which is why we do the things we do to each other. If we are going to turn it around, we must say we love the blacks.

Response from audience.

Unless we get him to understand that concept he will continue to domind us. We must have such a strong love for our people that..cannot disrupt us, cannot disrupt us. We must have such an undying love for our people that if a brother should have to go to Viet Nam we love him so much we will break his legs.

Large response from audience.

and we must do it in a spirit of love, not hate. We must have such an undying love for our people that when a brother says he does not want to go to Viet Nam that when the MPs come to get him, he got to get all of us.

Response from audience.

We must have such an undying love for our people that we no longer say anything negative about our people. Nothing, from now on everything we say about our people must be positive. We cannot say anything, it must be positive.

The second concept which is very important, flows from the first, and says every Negro is a potential black man, and we have to work with that concept to make all our brothers who is a slipping Negro yesterday, today he's a black nationalist...if the brother is a nationalist then who should help that brother see the light and come on home. If we do not help that brother see the light the honkies are going to use him against us, but even more important than the honkies using him against us is that he is our people, flesh of our flesh, blood of our blood, and the honkies can't have any more they had enough. So we have to understand that concept. We must understand because too many people are running and talking about the toms...we never was no tom, we was a traitor not an uncle tom, but we don't have any more...we do not have it because we do not have an undying love for our people. If we had an undying love for our people there...we would say to ourselves...we would work together in a spirit of love, a total friendship, and we would work for them. If they don't come home they are traitors to...kill traitors, but we do not want to emphasize killing our own people. That is negative. We want to emphasize bring the Negro home and making him black. That is what we must emphasize because we cannot fight our people and the enemy. We cannot. That is what we must emphasize because every Negro is a potential black man and that means he is a potential ally and

you do not alienate your potential ally. We must understand that concept. The brothers and the sisters who are still wandering. Let us take time, let us take love brother and bring them home, because if you got a converted Negro brother you got a strong black man. And let us remember that it was not too long ago that brother Malcolm X was speaking to us and we were kicking at him. Let us remember that black power is only two years old and we were kicking at that when it first came out. Let us remember where we were and we'll help everyone. We must bring all of our people home.

Now then the third concept and the most important concept and perhaps the most difficult concept is one we must spend some time with because it really is important. For black people the question of commuting is not just simply a question of land. It is a question of our people...for black people the question of commuting is not just a question of land it is a question of our color our people, and where we are, that is to say that when you go to a place you're not home until you're with your people. If you went to Los Angeles you would not be home until you moved to Watts. If you went to New York you would not be home until you moved to Harlem. If :you went to Detroit, you would not be home until you were on Riverside. Chicago, you would not be home until you were on the south or the west side. Pretty soon it will be the home city, and in Washington, D. C. the whole city is our's, but now we have to understand these concepts because if we understand these concepts we can break down this giant national barrier and it is honkies...In Cuba 65% of the population is black. In Puerto Rico...In Panama 45% of the population is black. In Sante Domingo 50% of the population is black. In Guatemala 50% of the population is black. In the West Indies the whole West Indies is black and when you in Africa the whole, the whole (unintelligible due to large response by audience). If we can begin to understand that concept we break down this giant thing the honkies have...you American Negro, you Canadian Negro, you Negro Negro...all of us because if we recognize that we would recognize that the black man in the world today is 900,000,000 strong...We got 900,000,000 strategic, 900,000,000 strategic placed situations in the Western Hemisphere. The biggest mistake this white man made was to mess with the African. He's going to pay for it.

Now then we have to talk about the concept of Negro versus African, because people are going to analyze... When we were in Africa we were Africians. We were black men. We were free. After he stole us from Africa when he brought us to the United States, we became slaves. We became Negroes Understand this concept clearly. The Negro and the slave are the same thing. We want to work with the concept a little bit more because we have to...now he stole us from Africa and more when he says we didn't steal you, they sold you out, and then we go around saying our people sold us out. The only reason he is saying that is to keep us divided because if you believe your people sold you out wouldn't organize with them. You wouldn't organize them. We'll get the white concept out of our mind. We have to say no Africans sold anybody out, hunkies you stole us all.

Response by audience.

Now the only reason we have to say that is because we need it for our own psychological uplift. We got to say it because its true. Let me ask you a question...Africa. He ain't had nothing, nothing. Where's the gold come from, Africa. Where's the diamonds come from?

Audience: Africa.

Where's the copper come from?

Audience: Africa.

Where's the zinc come from?

Audience: Africa.

What does he have?

Audience: Nothing

The honky then have nothing, nothing at all.

As a matter of fact he stole us to pick the...What the honky buy us with trinkets? Our women were wearing the best gold and diamonds there is to buy. What did the honky buy us with fire water? The best booze and the best pot comes from Africa. I know what I am talking about. I am just laughing (unintelligible due to audience response). It is obvious that he had no currency, nothing whatsoever to buy us with, but he had the straight attitude. Let us think: 1) that we couldn't come together because we don't trust each other if we sold each other out; and 2) He's got to say this because he can't admit that he would do all that stealing by himself. So he's got to...(unintelligible due to audience response). So we must understand that concept because if we say we're African, you say you're a free people. If you say you Negro you say to began in slavery. If you say you began in war that means you searched your ancestors back into slavery and if your beginning was..you cannot grow up to be nothing but a good slave. Because that's where you began, a slave. It follows that your going to be a slave, but if you said you were African and you would say that you went to the first university in the world, the University of Timbukto.

Large response from audience.

If you said you were an African you would come from people who are warriors like Hannibal, like (lists names of other warriors, but names unintelligible) you would be somebody.. If you want to say the blood of Africa was on you, you would have given civilization to that white man. You give it to a people who say your an African. Your civilization began in the Mesopotamian Valley and...(unintelligible due to audience response). If you ever say you're African you could say your ancestors roamed this world and all of its..and your ancestors would fight the sun before they would bow down to anyone. If you would say you're African then they would not be able to debate us the way they...jive talk about the Africans don't like you and you don't like the Africans, cause they got...If anyone say you got justice you say...pepple what you think about Stokely Carmichael.

Large response from audience.

He has divided us up that we do not know who we are, where we came from, what our ancestry is. He divided us as he saw it. He dropped us in the West Indies. He dropped us in Cuba. He dropped us in Brazil. He dropped us in Guatemala. He dropped us in Panama. He dropped us in Santo Domingo. He dropped us in Puerto Rico. He dropped us in the United States, even in Canada we are..what did he do this white man wanting to do this to us as a people.

We have to understand man, and we're talking about color today and nothing else. The world is divided and the country that is pushing it the most is the United States of America. Let me say the divided of our brother. You know we came back into the country. We tried to talk to black people...don't you sit down and talk to us Stokely Carmichael...Communist. That's O.K. communism is a white thing we're coming from a straight black thing. We don't get you and immediately we got to take some time and explain alot of things to unite.

Now the honkies..responsible Negroes those.. communists blah, blah, blah. Before we left this country about 8 months ago...what a good thing it is that these white people are sitting down together to return..in harmony with each other. It is the United States and Russia that are sitting down today to develop...and that ain't nothing but a white fight. We must understand that all the Eastern communist world is breaking off to denounce China. So all the whites are going to come closer together. There's a direct flight from New York to Moscow right now, leaves every day. I think Pan American has got it. What we have got to understand is that white force is moving closer together. It was the United States of America that voted for South Africa to join the Olympics, the United States of America. Like I said the white man witch doctor in South Africa..He was trained in the United States of America. When they brought him over here to put him on.. telling folks we don't have to kill them we can use some of them to steer cars. It is strictly a question of power and the United States is moving closer and closer to it and we have some of our brothers and sisters who are arguing about whether or not they should run for this honky in the Olympics.

What are you going to get fxm the Olympics, a gold medal. The gold is coming from South Africa, its ours. Its ours. Its ours. All he's doing is burning his heart out for gold that belongs to him. The honky stole it all, and when the honky gives him...and says thanks alot nigger, and then we people..debate about the Olympics....I'll tell you honky you'll lose and that's enough for me.

Large response from audience.

Don't be afraid to tell them, if we want you to lose, because you been using us to sin for you and you been against us and we not going to to nothing for you no more.

Response from audience.

Now then we want to move into areas specifically about trying to corrupt our movement, cause it is very clear that nowhere it is good. We know where it is going just some of us scared to get up and say so, but we going to get our people and going to get up because this is the most beautiful race of people in the world and we going to get up to kill..The United States works on what is called the 3 M's, the missionary, the money, the marine, That's right. Everywhere I've gone that's how they count it. They send the missionary...They send the money in and its fizzling out. The next comes the marines for protecting some...

Large response from audience.

That means that we are a disease to all these black men and all black women. You got to get...(unintelligible due to response of audience). We have got to get some guns. We have got to get some guns to the news for the benefit of our people against our enemies. We have got to get those guns. I will tell you why we have to get guns,,not only because we need protection when you..., but we need it because of all of the programs that is run by the...will not solve our problems. Because our problem is the white man..Let us examine then the...so when I couldn't stop he decided he would refine it. So he..black power. Well black power means...black power means the vote. If you

got the vote then you going to get everything. Brothers and sisters let me tell you something. The vote now has never been, nor ever will be relevent to the survival of black people in this country,

Large response from audience.

and I'll prove it to you. We have not been able to vote in Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina, and even Washington, D. C. We have been surviving without a vote. Not only that, the vote doesn't help us a damn....You know that beautiful man from Atlanta, Georgia...got elected to his position. They didn't like what he said. They kicked him out, and could survive for 2 years without the... You know brother Adam Clayton Powell. He's been out of office for almost 2 years now...The vote does not mean anything because of the...political power from out of the barrel of....They count everything because they... and they have us thinking enough for them. It time for us to pick up the gun for our people. It is not the question of the vote, it is the question of the gun. It is a question only of the color. If it is not a question of the gun, it is a question of the will of people to fight to the dying end.

Response from audience.

So we must understand the vote in its proper perspective. If we vote today we do it only for one reason to bring our people closer together. That's all, that's all. We do not expect a vote to win us anything because it will win us nothing in Gary, Indiana, it will win us nothing in Cleveland, but some people are going to be up or you sleep, because we are all waking up today and got to get other people to put us to sleep. We have got to wake up the Stokes and the Hatchers. The votes mean absolutely nothing unless we get the gun. Give us a pride in ourselves, tell us about our history, our culture and developing love for our people. That's what education is all about. If you had that in you, you could conquer the world. If you had that in you chemically, physically...but its because we have a sense of nothingness, cause we're Negroes, cause we're slaves. You can use slaves

for white trash, then we are in a way completely white-washed, dehumanized, and asleep. In order to wake up we must take over the education system in our schools, and we must start off by saying to our brothers black is beautiful. It is so beautiful to be black. We must give them a feeling that they are somebody with trust and dignity. The whites boy gives it to his children and to us. Everytime he says these things he may not think the white man is superior. He doesn't have to say that. He tells you Christopher Columbus discovered America. Marco Polo discovered China. A white man discovered everything. If white people discovered everything god damnit, they got to be superior. He may not have to come out and say their superior, but he tells you everyday, he tells you. The most beautiful and richest country in the world is the United States of America, whose running it. White folks. So whose the most beautiful and richest in the world, white folks. Cause this ain't our country, I know we got over that.

Audience: Peace brother.

So we have to understand this concept of education...plenty.

Now the first and the last they are going to be the most difficult for us, is the one we really have to work hard on is this thing about economics. I say they got these people down...saying black power means green power, and they got all these preachers jumping up saying that's right green power first, green power, that's what we need. Now look here we don't need money all that bad, I'll tell you why, because the most materialistic concept he has is in the dollar. He will kill his mama for the dollar. and here comes some preacher...that we should fight for the dollar. He just like the monkey killing for the dollar. Ain't that some junk. We not fighting for no dollar. There's something more important than the dollar. Its our people, that's more important than the dollar. Everywhere they yell, get green power, you get green power you get black power. Black power is talking about people. What they saying is you get money you can buy people. Its the same old concept. We cannot be fighting for green power. It is the poverty program that's disrupted all of our communities across the country when we were coming together.

Response from audience

It is the poverty program that has done it. The poverty programwas aimed to do two things: stop the rebellion, we'll fire the niggers, stop the rebellion we'll fire the niggers, stop the rebellion we'll fire the niggers and that's precisely what they have done, because in any race of people the warriors are your youths. The poverty program is geared for nobody but the youthes. Get them off the streets, put them in the parlor, put them anywhere, get them off the streets and give them $50 a week, give $100 a week, give $200 a week, keep them off the streets. But the poverty program began its concepts saying that the black family was divided. The father was unemployed. He was away and he had no moral image. Remember when they ran that junk down on us. Now they say that and when they come to solve the problem they give the money to the youths. Now think what it does to our fathers. My father 40-45 years old, I'm 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and every week I come and through down $70, $90, $100, $200. He's sitting there. I'm supporting the family. What does that do to my father...They should give the money to our fathers who are in fact the rulers of our family and they are solving the problem.

Response from audience.

So we got to understand the poverty program. If we get involved in the poverty program we do so only because we're going to use it as an organizing tool to bring our people together.

Now we want to move in to begin to internationalize a little, and we have to talk about this thing with both sides cause a lot of people don't really understand the difference between both whites and black people. The difference is that there are two types of oppression. There is exploitation. There is colonization. Exploitation is where one race of people exploits or oppresses other people in the same race. That's to say that if I a black man who is exploiting all of you who are black people then there would be exploitation, because we're the same people and all I'm taking from you is money and I'm exploiting you. Colonization is when one race of people totally oppresses another race of people. Cause when they do that not only do they rid them of their money they rid them of their humanity. Because they have to destroy the culture, the history, the language, the ways of life of the people they oppress so the people...can you take that its very deep. We got to understand. We got to understand.

We have to understand because there is a difference between colonization and exploitation. White people are fighting for more money. They have the same culture, the same history, the same city, the same way of life as Lyndon Johnson..Lyndon Johnson cause they not Lyndon Johnson, that's all, that's all. Black people are a colonized people. We have been dehumanized. We are fighting for our humanity..There's the difference. Its a big difference. We're fighting for our history, our culture, our own way of life. We are fighting for our humanity because we have been dehumanized. Our history is not the same as the honkyes history. There is no use playing games. The history the honky can write our history because to write it for us is to admit that we gave him civilization and he will never do that.

Response from audience.

We've got to understand that because the fight between us and the fight between white people are two entirely different things. That is not saying we can't use their fight. Sure, when the Democratic Convention comes here I would advise every black man to sit home and fight each other, its about time that ...(unintelligible due to audience response). I don't need for any black person to get involved in that convention. It ain't going to do any good and don't let Kennedy put you to sleep. He's just a honky like all the others.

Response from audience.

and the only reason anywhere because they want to put us to sleep. That's the only reason. Kennedy ain't going to do nothing more than his brother, which was nothing more than Johnson or any other honky ever did. We have got to make a clean sweep because if we believe that Kennedy passed the civil rights bill. Kennedy did not do anything for the civil rights bill. It was the bodies of four black ladies in Birmingham, Alabama that passed the civil rights bill.

Response from audience.

It was thousands of our young brothers and sisters out in the street..bricks and bottles that passed the civil rights bill. Kennedy didn't pass the civil rights bill. Kennedy never passed it. He was just the smart one. He recognized that if they didn't get the civil rights bill the war was going to come much sooner.

If we understand those two sides of oppression then we begin to see who are our allies. Brothers and sisters our allies are the colonized people of the world.

Response from audience.

That's to say that we are allies of the third world...(unintelligible due to audience response), and we must be allies again because they..like us are fighting for our humanity. H-U-M-A-N-I-T-Y. Its different from money. A lot different from money. The brothers and sisters who threw bricks and bottles against tanks, they're not throwing it for a dollar they're throwing it for their humanity. Maybe all they're saying is god dammit if all I can do nigger, get off of your feet and die like a man you been living in this slum far too long. Its for humanity of our people that they threw those bricks and bottles. Can you not hear them yelling, nigger do something die like a man on your feet. If that's all you can do for them die like a man, die like a man.

Response from audience.

We must understand that concept because if the United States move to start more of a war and you going to get whipped more and more. We got to understand whose side we going to be on.

Response from audience: Negro

The next one is going to be the middle East. We must be on the side of the Arabs, of the Arabs. We cannot be on the side of the Zionist. We must be for the poor. We must be for the Arabs because there's is a just fight. They are fighting for the land that was taken from them by the Zionists, the British, and the United States of America.

Response from audience.

We must be for the Arabs because they are fighting in Africa. Africa is our mother land. This is important. A young Jewish boy....1948 where Egypt ' 4,000 year aged, millions of years ago and we going to let them march into Egypt sit here and talk about them Arabs sure is bad. Them Arabs ain't done what they supposed to do. They should drop them into the sea.

Response of audience.

You've got to understand what is going on in the world today. A Zionist has no business in Palestine. The land belongs to the Arabs. The land belongs to the Arabs and the longer you sit out there before the Zionists you cutting out your own eye, because they moving into Egypt and Egypt is ours.

Now we going to come to a very very important concept. This concept of love and hate. Now you know people say that the reason all like Rap Brown is cause he preaches hate, and that's right. Now they don't understand Rap Brown, since the brother in jail and since he is my leader, I might be able tonight to explain a little to you about the brother. Brother not talking about hate. The honky recognizes what he is talking about. The honky recognizes that in every black man and every Negro there is some Rap Brown.

Response from audience.

He recognizes it, that's why he won't like Rap Brown, because he knows Rap Brown...why else does he put Rap Brown in jail. Rap ain't steal nothing. Rap ain't had..shot none of them. He ain't seen Rap lite no fires. Rap ain't broken no laws. Rap is wrapped in the truth and the trust...(unintelligible due to audience response). Now we got to understand this concept of hate, because I will tell you when those brothers... walk out of my house in Washington, D. C. and a fellow came up to me asking...I said yes, I said I him. He said, Well I don't hate nobody.

Response from audience.

I said well I hate those white folks for what they did. He said he don't hate no white folk. He's right he doesn't hate no white folk, because he does not love his people, and I'll tell you why we cannot have such a thing as love and not have such a thing as hate. There's a thing the honkies call dialectic philosophy, which says there are opposites for everything. There's a boy; there's a girl. There's joy; there's sadness. There's laughter; there's tears; There's cold; there's hot. For everything there is an opposite, and as these opposites react that's how you get changes in the world. If you got love you got to have hate.

Response from audience.

If you got love you got to have hate cause you would not be able to differentiate. You could love, you could hate. Some people you don't like too much. Some people you dislike. Some people you hate. If you didn't have it you couldn't tell who to dislike, you couldn't tell who to marry cause you'd be in love with everybody. So there must be an opposite, but if you say you don't have no hate ;you say you don't have no love because if you love your people you would hate sanybody who would try to mess with them. Yes you would.

Response from audience.

If you had an undying love for your people anybody who touched them you'd kill them on the spot, for if you a mother and a father and you have children and you love those children and somebody come to hurt your children you would want to take care of them. Even an animal would protect its own. This man has dehumanized us and...he just snaps his fingers and we come back wagging our tails. We are human beings, we're people with emotions. If we love our people and...(unintelligible due to bongo playing in audience), We cannot stand up on our feet if, god dammit, we hate you. You can say it to him, but we cannot say it to our people. (mimicing) I hate the niggers down there. I hate them all they do is shooting. I hate them, but I don't..because I don't have hate in my heart.

Response from audience.

It is because we do not have love for our people that man do the things he does to us. If we had love, if we had undying love, if we had undying love (large amount of response from audience). If we had undying love for our people when they touch one they would have to touch all. That then say specifically some things about Chicago. There are a lot of so-called Negro leaders in Chicago. They do not care about their people. They care only about themselves and the few choice niggers around them. They do not.

Response from audience.

I will tell you why they do not care about their people. They do not care about their people because in the last week they seen 18 of our brothers and sisters have been wiped out by each other in these gangs....They have not gone down to talk to the young brothers and sisters because they are afraid of their own people. They are afraid of their own people. Rangers are fighting Disciples and fighting the Saints and fighting the Loves to fight the Viceroys and all of these Negro leaders aan't got time to go out and beg them to stop killing each other.

Response from audience.

Last night when we were trying to speak to some of these gangs one of the brothers ...got shot in the face. We couldn't find one black leader to go to the hospital to meet with those gangs to stop the gang war that is going on. Couldn't find one. They didn't even know the name of the gang and they suppose to represent us inthhe city. Where are the ministers of our community. Where are the ministers who are quickest to condemn us when we rebel against whitey. Why can't they...when we rebel against ourselves. Why can't they do that. Where are the ministers who beg us to love the white man, but can't teach us to love ourselves. Where are the ministers. Where are the ministers. Where are the ministers, who say they are teaching the preachings of Jesus Christ. who said of all the commandments I give you this is the most important, "Love thee one another." Where are our people, where are our ministers. Where are these black men if you can find them with their pork chop faces...and when we need them we can't find them. Where are our leaders in Chicago. Where are they.

Response from audience.

Eighteen of our people died. Eighteen of our young glorious died and they don't give a goddamn and they call themselves Negroes. They call themselves Negroes, and why aren't you talking to our young brothers and sisters. Their flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood.. They are the warriors of our race. They are the ones who never compromise. They fight that honky war every single day of their lives, every day of their lives. You want leaders. I'll give you leaders. Get the Blackstone Rangers fighting for their people and you got some leaders..(unintelligible due to audience response) You want leaders. I'll give you leaders. Get the Vice Lords, get the Roman Saints, get all those groups together to the black club to fight for their people and we got the leaders. We'll have some leaders because they will fight to the death. They fight to the death now for no reason just because they hate the white man and just because they're individually frustrated.

Response from audience.

If we can teach them to fight the white man not because they hate him but because they love their people we can have this situation lock stock and barrel, without...(unintelligible due to audience response).

What are you feeling so moral about, We know the honky got everything. He got it by stealing it. He not gonna give you anything. We got to take it. We got to take it. We got to take it.

Response from audience.

And these brothers on the streets everyday take it, but they're taking it for themselves. Lets organize them and let them take it for our people. But the preachers and the leaders are afraid of most black people in their community, The gang fighters, the gang fights, because the gang fighters may not have any politics, they may not have education, they are not glorifying the poverty program, but their hearts are black. Their hearts are black cause when something comes down they black and fight. They don't try to stop it they want to help and people we must understand that we must have an undying love for our people. We must begin to love our peole so much that we will not let anyone touch one hair on their happy head.

Response fromaaudience.

We are not preaching about hate we are preaching about love. because if you love your people you will destroy your people's enemies.

Now there's one last thing I want to do before I leave. I want to ask you not to applaud until I raise my hands. I want you to listen very carefully to what I am going to read. Brother Rap Brown is in jail. After I read thesstatement you may applaud. I will not beg for any money. You will simply pass the baskets. You will give as you so desire. I am not a preacher. I don't beg for money. Rap Brown is in jail not for money but for love of his people. If you have love for you people you will put some money in the basket to help get....

Response from audience.

Iwant to read a statement that was written by my leader. The man I'll die for in a minute because he's ready to die for me. Rap Brown, the brother, wrote the letter while he was in jail. I want you to listen to it very closely because I don't care what you say...

CG 100-40342

SNCC Threats

On April 30, 1968, ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN accompanied by BOB RUSH, Chicago Branch of SNCC Student Organizer, attended a political meeting held in a south side Chicago church. Present and speaking at the meeting were Chicago alderman A. A. "Sammy" RAYNER and democratic congressional candidate AUGUST "GUS" SAVAGE. The audience consisted generally of young people, not of voting age, from the Forestville High School area.

BROWN was not expected at this affair and without invitation took over the stage and microphone and began speaking. He said the candidates could campaign, but he doubted if there would be any elections. He said "Niggers" should not vote and if any were caught at the polls they would be sorry. He commented that most black office holders do not represent their own people and they "would be taken care of later".

BROWN accused Alderman RAYNER of taking money from LUCY MONTGOMERY, a rich North Shore society Chicago white female. He did not think RAYNER was too bad and if he did not "mess up", he would be helped. He warned congressional candidate SAVAGE to be careful and not take advantage of his own people, the black race. There was no crowd support for BROWN and they were so overwhelmed by his remarks they did not bother to question his obvious contradictory statements.

(Source [redacted] 5/6/68)

111.

[redacted]

111.

(Source [redacted] 5/26/68)

CG 100-40342

Cooperation with Chicago Consortium of the Black United Front (BUF)

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Midwest Director SNCC has been selected to be on the guide lines committee to formulate policy for a new group called Consortium of the Black United Front (BUF). BUF is an attempt to solidify the relations of civic, social and religious Negro groups of Chicago into a single new black power structure.

(Source [redacted] 6/14/68)

[redacted]

(Source [redacted] 4/29/68)

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN and BOBBY L. RUSH were observed in attendance at National CORE meetings held in Columbus, Ohio, during the weekend of July 5-7, 1968.

(Source [redacted] 7/8/68)

V. SNCC LEAFLETS

The attached SNCC leaflets entitled "I am the Law" and "Help" were obtained from [redacted] mentioned previously. Leaflets entitled "We Must Love our People" and "Brothers" were obtained from [redacted] on May 10, 1968.

ORIGINAL

IN BAD

CONDITION

BEST

AVAILABLE

SR

On Monday April 16 1968 "Boss" Daley announced that he has ordered police to shoot to kill arsonists and "shoot to main or cripple" looters. He further suggested that chemical Mace be used in detaining little old ladies found looting.

The Mayor obviously is not aware that there is no statute of law that provides the death penalty for arson.

Also order 67-14 (governing the use of force by police) limits the use of firearms by police in crowds. It particularly forbids a policeman to

1. Fire into crowds
2. Fire over the heads of crowds, except on orders from an officer above the rank of captain.
3. Fire warning shots were there is a chance of injuring bystanders.
4. Fire into buildings or thru doors when the person fired at is not clearly visable.

HOW CAN THE POLICE OBEY THE MAYORS ORDER TO SHOOT TO KILL WITHOUT VIOLATING ORDER 67-14????

Not only does "Boss Daley claim to be a "lawmaker", he also wants to be the law enforcement the judge and the jury.

What the good Mayor does not realize however is that 15% of those 2,93[illegible] people picked up in riot areas during the riots are not guilty of any crime. In fact, many of them were on the streets because they were turned out of their homes. Many others had gone shopping (legitimately) and the packages they carried were those they had bought. But when the police came down the street they made a general sweep. Anyone who happen to be on the street were picked up, along with those few who had been doing the damage.

We too do not want to be guilty of the same crime that Mayor Daley is guilty of--namely, pre-judging all of these arrested and condemn; the innocent along with the guilty.

If you want to help call the Chicago Bar Association office and get the facts about these arrests. Or, call community Legal Defense office [illegible], who are setting a defense fund to provide legal services for those arrested.

TO: CITIZENS OF ANYWHERE THE CITY OF CHICAGO

Remember, this order is NOW IN EFFECT. Any citizen who happens to be walking down the street (this could be in the downtown area, your own neighborhood--anywhere) and because an innocent bystander while the police investigate any kind of a crime could be a VICTIM OF A POLICEMAN WITH A GUN. A black man cannot light a cigarette on the street today without risking arrest on grounds of arson! Even if you are not black, even if you are not in the ghetto, and whether you are walking your dog or riding home on a public bus, you COULD BE IN: VICTIM OF A POLICEMAN WITH A GUN. Regrets by policemen who "accidentally" shoot an innocent victim do no good to a dead [illegible]

TO: ALL POLICE OFFICERS IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO

[illegible] your job more important than the lives of the men, women and children [illegible] Your human [illegible] order. If you are a black policeman, [illegible] going to [illegible] your fellow policemen [illegible] your brother? Are you going to continue to aid in the persecution and genocide of black people in the city of Chicago? [illegible] would not [illegible] white people were involved. Remember, before [illegible]

HELP!

FREE RAP AND CLEVE

COME TO A

BAIL BOND PARTY

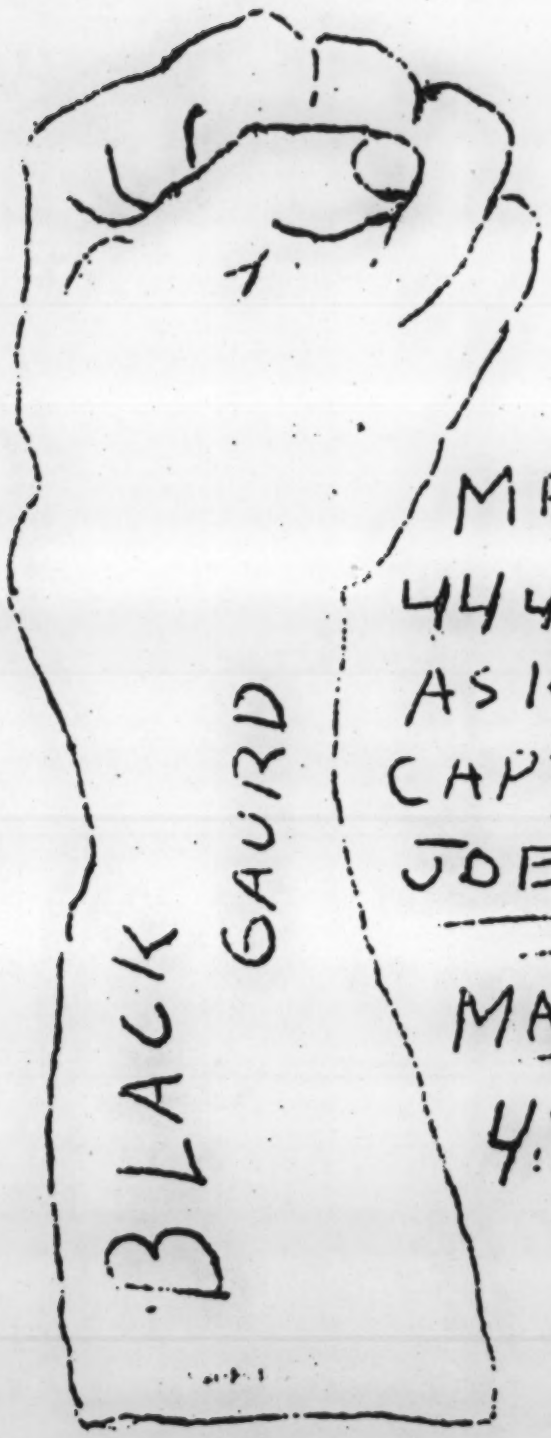
SAT., MARCH 2, 1968
8:00 P. M.
7428 N. PAULINA

H. RAP BROWN

incc - 306 E 43rd.

LOVE YOUR PEOPLE

SPONSORED BY S.N.C.C.



MEET AT
4443 S. Michi-
ASK FOR
CAPTAIN
JOE. WEBB

MAY 11.
4:00

BROTHERS!!!

Beware of the deceivers! Don't be mislead by their black exterior and premeditated white lies! They are only implements of the "white" power structure, being used by them for the ramification of "Black" people.

The objective of this circular is to unite our brothers into a common front against the "white" power structure. How can black people unite when we have certain Tomboes such as our valiant non-violent "Negro" leader, Whitney Young, Who so fearlessly attacked Stokely Carmichael for his belief that Black people should be militant? In his attack he stated that Stokely only had 50 followers, when I know of at least 50 from my group alone. The purpose of his statement was to implant the thought that Stokely was leading a "suicidal Revolution". The bag that Whitey is coming out of is pitting Black man vs. Black man. While we squabble amongst ourselves, whitey is preparing to commit genocide

PROVE TO STOKELEY THAT WE ARE BEHIND HIM 500%.

ATTEND THE MEETING BEING HELD SATURDAY, MAY 4th

at 4426 South Drexel

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois 60604
July 23, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CG 100-40342

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Reference is made to report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CHICAGO	ATLANTA	DEC 27 [illegible]	7/19 - 12/18/68

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)	SA [redacted]	CMS

CHARACTER OF CASE

RM - SNCC

REFERENCE: Chicago report of SA [redacted] dated 7/23/68.

-RUC-

ENCLOSURES

TO THE BUREAU (2)

Enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) copies of new thumbnail sketch for Chicago Branch of SNCC for Bureau approval.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "confidential" as information contained herein from [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

[redacted]

(2) Copies of thumbnail sketch [illegible] CG. SNCC [illegible]

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REC-54

17 JAN 2 1969

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	[illegible]		
[illegible]	FEB 27 1969		
[illegible]	[illegible]	27-67	
[illegible]		[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	7/13/69	

Notations

RACIAL INT. SECT.

[illegible] 1969

100 216 [illegible]

CG 100-40342

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(18)

CG 100-40342

[redacted]

INFORMANTS

SOURCE	LOCATION
[redacted]	100-40342-2063 [redacted]
[redacted]	[illegible] 100-40342-2167 2063 2069
[redacted]	CG 100-40342-2168 -2168 -2160 [redacted] CG 100-40342-2170
[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	100-40342-2076 -2076 Characterization of STOKELY CARMICHAEL
[redacted]	100-40342-2101
[redacted]	100-40325-2025
[redacted]	100-40342-2072
[redacted]	100-40342-2072

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[redacted] 100-40342-2078

[redacted] 100-40342-2070
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[redacted] 100-40342-2070

[redacted]

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FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to: 1 - U. S. Secret Service, Chicago (via courier)
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Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Chicago

Date: DEC 27 1969

Field Office File #: 100-40342 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Synopsis: ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN and other officers of the Chicago Branch of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), disbanding this branch during 8/68 and associated themselves with the Black Panther Party. The Chicago Branch of SNCC is therefore no longer functioning. Details of a speech by STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Chicago set out as well as officers, members and financial information prior to the disbanding of the Chicago organization.

-RUC-

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
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CG 100-40342

DETAILS: AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

The following organizations referred to in this report are described in the appendix section attached hereto:

1. Black Panther Party (BPP);
2. Chicago Branch, Socialist Workers Party (CBSWP);
3. Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (LAL-SWP);
4. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS);
5. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), National and Chicago Branch.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

I. BACKGROUND

A. Origin, Aims and Purpose

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN as of May, 1968, headed the Chicago Branch of SNCC, which as of that time was a loosely organized and non-membership type organization. BROWN operated the organization from his residence located at 11400 South Vincennes Avenue, Chicago. BROWN and his associates attempt to develop opposition to the white power structure by contacting various Negro youth gangs and black power type organizations and in that regard using intimidation and boycott methods.

[redacted] 5/68)

The Chicago Branch of the BPP was founded on August 25, 1968, with ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN as organizer, ROBERT LEE RUSH as Chicago Chairman, JOSEPH L. MONTGOMERY as Field Director and FRED HAMPTON, Field Organizer. At this time the Chicago Branch of SNCC was dissolved and discontinued and the organization of the BPP in Chicago took place as an affiliate of the national organization. As of that time there was no longer any SNCC functioning in Chicago.

[redacted] 3/27/68)

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[redacted]

[redacted] 8/27/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] 10/21/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] 11/6/68)

It is the belief among many SNCC officials that statements such as made by PHILLIP LEROY HUTCHINGS in Los Angeles regarding extreme militancy, are made deliberatly in order to counteract the appeal of the BPP in the minds of young Negroes. This is further felt to be true because SNCC has no means of training anyone in any type of firearms and if a revolution ever did occur, SNCC people would be the first to run and hide.

[redacted] 11/6/68)

B. Locality in Which Active

The Chicago Branch of SNCC operates in the Chicago, Illinois area.

[redacted] 5/68)

CG 100-40342

[redacted]

[redacted] 10/19/68)

II. MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENTS

A. Locality in Which Active

N/A

B. Identity of Leaders, Members and Membership Requirements

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN as of August, 1968, was midwest director of SNCC and head of the Chicago Branch of that organization.

[redacted] 8/10/68)

ROBERT LEE RUSH as of August, 1968, was student organizer for the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

[redacted] 8/68)

III. TERRORIST OR REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

A. Acts of Violence

N/A

B. Statements of Members Showing the Violent Aims and Purposes Involving Racial Disturbances.

At a meeting of black nationalists held on August 10, 1968, at the Affro-Arts Theater, 3947 South Drexel Boulevard, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the main speaker, urged members of the black community to arm themselves to prevent genocide of the black race and to prepare themselves for the "revolution." CARMICHAEL urged the black race to support MAO TSE TUNG and also urged young black youth going to Vietnam to kill American soldiers rather than soldiers of the North Vietnamese. He said that law enforcement agencies, including the FBI, should be

kept out of black communities. He added that black informants should not be killed, but the police whom they inform should be killed. Among officials of the Chicago Branch of SNCC, attending this affair, was ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN.

[redacted] 8/10/68)

STOKELY CARMICHAEL is a former national director of SNCC.

[redacted] 8/10/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] 8/25/68)

[redacted] SNCC has no means of training anyone in the use of firearms and its members would be the first to run and hide if any type of revolution did occur.

[redacted] 11/6/68)

CG 100-40342

C. Other Information

During the early part of 1968, members of the Chicago Branch of SNCC were reportedly participating in firearms, judo and karate training under the supervision of ROBERT BROWN, head of that Branch. This training reportedly took place in the area known as Altgeld Gardens on Chicago's south side. There is no indication that such training continued after February, 1968.

[redacted] 11/25/68)

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IV. PUBLICATIONS

The Chicago Branch of SNCC, during the period July and August, 1968, was not known to have issued any publications.

[redacted] 12/16/68)

V. GENERAL ACTIVITY

[redacted]

[redacted] 6/14/68)

During June, 1968, ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN is known to have been in contact with SNCC Headquarters in Washington, D.C., such being located at 2208 14th Street.

[redacted] 7/12/68)

During June, 1968, BROWN also was reported to have been in contact with STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Washington, D.C.

[redacted] 7/22/68)

VI. CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS.

The August 10 - 16, 1968 weekly edition of the "Chicago Defender," Chicago, Illinois newspaper, page 6, column one, contained an item captioned, "Black Party is Goal of SNCC Chief." This article was datelined New York and stated as follows:

"Formation of a nationwide black political party with a black panther as its symbol is SNCC's major goal, according to PHIL HUTCHINGS, the organization's new program secretary.

"The party's main emphasis, he said, will be on black people controlling their areas, and on building links among

non-whites throughout the world. It will not be the traditional political party giving you a choice between the lesser of two evils, but a party designed by black people and filling the needs of black people, said HUTCHINGS.

"The party's symbol, a black panther, was first used by Lowndes County, Alabama Freedom Organization, established by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former SNCC chairman in 1965."

[redacted]

[redacted] 8/18/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] 8/5/68)

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3

[redacted]

[redacted] 11/4/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] 11/4/68)

[redacted]

VIII. INFLUENCE OF THE CP, OTHER REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS OR BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS.

The August 10 - 16, 1968 issue of the "Chicago Defender", page six, column one, contained an item captioned, "Black Party is Goal of SNCC Chief." This item in substance stated that SNCC planned to form a nationwide black political party with a black panther as its symbol.

[redacted]

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[redacted] 8/18/68)

As of October, 1968, there was no CP influence in the Chicago chapter of SNCC.

[redacted] 10/17/68)

During October, 1968, PHIL HUTCHINGS, Program Director, SNCC, visited national officials of SDS in Chicago in order to form an alliance between SNCC and SDS. [redacted]

[redacted] 10/24/68)

[redacted]

[redacted] 11/19/68)

IX. MISCELLANEOUS

On September 10, 1968, Assistant United States Attorney EUGENE ROBINSON, Northern District of Illinois, at Chicago, advised that Federal Judge ABRAHAM MAROVITZ dismissed the Selective Service case against ROBERT

ALFONZO BROWN, on the condition that he enter military service by October 9, 1968. BROWN agreed to this arrangement.

Assistant United States Attorney ROBINSON advised on November 14, 1968, that BROWN had complied with Judge MAROVITZ's order to report for induction, but at the Army's discretion such induction was held in abeyance pending a security check of BROWN.

Assistant United States Attorney ROBINSON advised on November 26, 1968, that the indictment against BROWN, regarding his Selective Service violation, was dismissed by Judge MAROVITZ on November 25, 1968, without prejudice to file again if BROWN is found qualified for military service, following the Army's security check, and he fails to comply.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

1 APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
CHICAGO BRANCH

In May, 1968, a source advised that it was his understanding that the currently active Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was one of the founding branches of the SWP at a 1938 Chicago Trotskyist Convention, and it follows the aims and principles of the SWP which maintains national headquarters in New York City.

Members of the Chicago Branch serve as SWP national functionaries, and per capita membership dues and a sustaining fund quota are sent by this branch on a monthly basis to SWP national headquarters.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

1

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
(LAL - SWP)

On May 10, 1968, a confidential source advised that the LAL- SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL - SWP is a local branch of the National SWP, with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

1 APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

1

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

1 APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), CHICAGO BRANCH

A source advised in May, 1968, that the Chicago branch of the SNCC is an affiliate of the national SNCC with headquarters located in Atlanta, Georgia. It is a non-membership type group headed in Chicago by ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, a 19 year old male Negro, with the title of Midwest Region Director. BROWN maintains strict loyalty to STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Recruiter and Organizer and former National Director of SNCC. BROWN attempts to align Chicago's SNCC activities within the framework of CARMICHAEL's policies.

In a speech at Chicago on March 25,1968, CARMICHAEL commented as follows:

"The white people are preparing to commit genocide against the black race. What are we feeling so moral about? We know the honky got everything. He got it by stealing it. He's not going to give you anything. We got to take it. These brothers on the streets every day take it, but they're taking it for themselves. Let's organize them and let them take it for our people."

The source advised the Chicago branch of the SNCC operates from BROWN's residence. BROWN and several associates attempt to implement CARMICHAEL's policies through contacts in the Negro youth gangs, student groups, and black power oriented organizations to influence opposition to white power structures through boycott and intimidation methods.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

DEC 27 [illegible]

In reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40342

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[redacted]

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ORIGINAL

IN BAD

CONDITION

BEST

AVAILABLE

SR

CHICAGO [illegible] 2/18/72 [illegible] 17/[illegible]

STUDENT [illegible] COMMITTEE (S[illegible]) [redacted] R[illegible]

EXTREMIST [illegible] AS [redacted]

REFERENCE: [illegible] Chicago [illegible] the [illegible] Chicago [illegible] and letterhead [illegible] Bureau [illegible] dated [illegible]

ADMINISTRATIVE

[illegible] copy of [illegible] report is disseminated [illegible] United States Secret Service, Chicago.

Two copies of this report [illegible] being [illegible] the Office of [illegible], New York. [illegible] dissemination [illegible] offices [illegible] SECRET [illegible]

APPROVED: [illegible]

COPIES MADE:

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1 - U.S. [illegible] (Via Courier)

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2 - Chicago ([illegible]-403[illegible])

Dissemination Record of [illegible]

[redacted]

101

1 FEB [illegible] 1972

Requested [illegible]

Now [illegible]

- A -

COVER PAGE

MAR 6 1972

The SNCC activity in Chicago [illegible] the three brothers, [illegible], RONALD, and MELVIN MC LENDON. Of these three, only the name of EDWARD MC LENDON, also known as (aka) EDWARD SAINT X is consistently [illegible] in communications sent by other offices. [redacted] has not been able to establish membership in SNCC by anyone else.

Efforts by the MC LENDONS to recruit members for SNCC are done very secretly and as such, have experienced very little success.

[redacted]

The report is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to protect the identities of sources, who have furnished information, probably limited to only a few individuals, disclosure of whom would be detrimental to the security interests of the United States.

This matter is being RUC'd since Chicago can find no evidence that a SNCC chapter, per se, is active in the Chicago area or that any SNCC programs are in operation.

[redacted]

INFORMANTS

Source	Location
[redacted]	100-40342-[illegible]

CG 100-40342

Source	Location
[redacted]	100-4[illegible]
[redacted]	10[illegible] [illegible]01 [illegible]91 Instant [illegible]t Instant [illegible]t Instant [illegible]
[redacted]	10[illegible]
[redacted]	100-4034 [illegible]
[redacted]	100-4034 [illegible]
[redacted]	
a person in a responsible position	100-40[illegible]

- C* -

COVER PAGE

NON-SYMBOL INFORMATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

[redacted]

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: 1 - United States Secret Service, Chicago (Via Courier)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: Chicago

Date: 2/18/72

Field Office File #: 100-40342 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: EXTREMIST MATTERS

Synopsis: Alleged Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) activity in Chicago is almost nil. Attempts to establish a SNCC chapter evolves around three brothers, EDWARD, RONALD, and MELVIN MC LENDON, whose efforts have not produced positive results. There is no known SNCC office or officerships. There is no known SNCC publications available in the Chicago area. EDWARD MC LENDON admitted to having contact with WILLIAM HUNT, but a SNCC chapter, per se, does not exist.

- RUC -

CONFIDENTIAL
Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

DETAILS:

I. EXISTENCE OF STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) CHAPTER IN CHICAGO AREA AND LOCATION OF OFFICE

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1969 O - [illegible]

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STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was formerly known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and was founded in [illegible] ing the civil rights activity in the South. The organization advocates the use of force to achieve revolutionary goals and the destruction of the capitalistic system of government in the United States.

There is no known SNCC activity in the Chicago area and no office or headquarters is known to [illegible]

[redacted] [illegible]/71 through [illegible]/71)

SNCC is not known to have renewed [illegible] or activities in the Chicago area.

[redacted] [illegible]/71 through [illegible])

There is no known SNCC activity [illegible]. No mention of SNCC has ever been made at any [illegible]-type black labor union meetings attended.

[redacted] through [illegible])

[redacted] It was noted that there has [illegible] active chapter of SNCC in Chicago since 1963.

[redacted] [illegible]/71)

WILLIAM HUNT travelled to Chicago alone to aid in organizing a SNCC chapter. [redacted]

[redacted] 5/18/71)

WILLIAM LA TRANE, a SNCC leader from the Atlanta, Georgia, area, had accompanied WILLIAM MUHAMMAD to Chicago on or about May 16, 1971, in connection with the organizing of a new SNCC chapter in that city.

[redacted] 5/21/71)

[redacted]

[redacted] 8/11/71)

[redacted]

[redacted] 10/12/71)

The efforts of Brother EDWARD SAINT X, whose true name is EDWARD MC LENDON, to form a viable SNCC chapter in Chicago have failed to produce positive results. No office or headquarters for SNCC are known to exist. The only location, which could be considered as a headquarters for SNCC would have to be EDWARD MC LENDON's own home.

[redacted] 2/15/72)

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II. MEMBERSHIP AND OFFICERS

The proposed new SNCC chapter in Chicago will be under the leadership of three individuals known only as EDWARD SAINT, [illegible] Champlin, another SAINT (first name unknown), brother of EDWARD SAINT, and one ELVEN (last name unknown).

[redacted] 5/21/71)

[redacted]

[redacted] 5/21/71)

The only persons known to currently be associated with the Chicago SNCC activities are three brothers, [illegible] MC LENDON, RONALD MC LENDON, and MELVIN MC [illegible]. There are no SNCC offices, as such known to exist in Chicago. JAMES BROWN has evidently become disenchanted and has terminated his association with the MC LENDONS.

[redacted] [illegible])

III. SNCC PROJECTS AND ACTIVITIES

There are no known projects or activities by SNCC in Chicago. There are no newspapers, newsletters or pamphlets available in the Chicago area, which are of [illegible]

[redacted] [illegible])

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

[redacted]

NATION OF ISLAM

The Nation of Islam is an all-black nationwide organization headquartered at Muhammad's Temple 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, under the guidance of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, self-styled "Messenger of Allah" and only divinely appointed leader of the black race in the United States. Its purpose is separation of the black man from the devil (white race) through establishment of a black nation.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

February 18, 1972

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40342

Title STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character EXTREMIST MATTERS

Reference is made to report of Special Agent [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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